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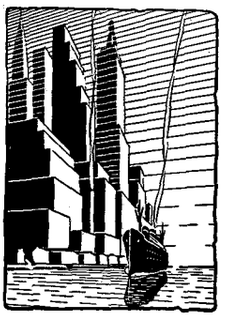

By Berta Crone

AT LEAST ONE PROFESSION is proving what the aroused mind and energy can do towards improving its economic and professional status. Within less than eight months newspaper editorial workers have organized the American Newspaper Guild, a powerful national association having branch guilds in nearly every city and town of importance. Of course no other profession is as well-trained in the art of propaganda as the journalistic one. This professional association whose membership of working newspaper men and women includes the artists, cartoonists, checkers, columnists, commentators, copy readers, critics, correspondents, editors, sub-editors, editorial writers, librarians, reporters, reviewers, rewrite men, special writers and apprentices on newspapers all over the country has a twofold purpose—the more immediate one being collective bargaining for better economic conditions for its members, the other setting up new standards for the profession of journalism in the United States. From the inception of the idea to its realization this stirring movement has already won the support of thousands inside the profession and countless numbers outside of its ranks. It scored its first victory for better working conditions a month ago.

●

The first contract which fixed better working conditions and minimum pay, was signed on April 7th in Philadelphia. This contract, signed by J. David Stern, publisher of the *"Philadelphia Record"* on the one hand, and the Newspaper Guild of Philadelphia and Camden, a unit of the American Newspaper Guild on the other, will be in effect for about 14 months, and will continue indefinitely unless either party files notice of a desire to change or terminate the contract.

What, it may be asked, is the meaning of a contract between editorial workers and newspaper publishers? It means that editorial employees' jobs on the newspaper will not be subject to the caprice of the president and the executive officers of the publisher. Under such a contract it will not be possible to dismiss anyone in the editorial and news departments without first giving him written notice of the intended action. The length of time between the date of notice and the date of dismissal is fixed in the contract according to a sliding scale based on the length of time the employee has been with the publisher. For instance, two weeks' notice must be given to one who has been employed six months, a month's notice to one who has been working with the firm for more than two years, and three months' notice to a man who has been employed for nine years. This, it will be admitted, is a great improvement on the system which has hitherto prevailed and still prevails in which a newspaper publisher or his executive officers dismissed one who had been a special writer on his paper for many years, and who is dismissed on less than a day's notice and two weeks' salary! Yet even this improvement over the prevailing system does not give one the necessary time in which to find another job while still on pay. The contract signed with the *"Philadelphia Record"* prevents the reduction of the salary of any editorial employee, fixes the length of the workday, and provides for the 5-day week. Exempt from the 5-day week are employees who earn $4,500 a year or more, and those whose special work cannot be done on this time basis. It also limits the number of apprentices, grants vacations on pay, and provides for the payment of wages during illness for the same time allowance which is required in giving notice of dismissal

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to employees. It provides for further benefits to the employee if and as the newspaper code provides for further benefits to the publisher. The publisher, in this instance, Mr. Stern, who was himself a working newspaper man, is reported to have said after signing the contract, "I am hopeful that what we have done here today will contribute toward raising the newspaper profession to the place of honor and dignity in which it properly belongs. But this cannot be done by talk. The economic security of a profession is essential to its dignity; and though it is unfortunate that people think that way, it is true that they respect a man more if he is well-off economically and materially. Although a man may be of good character and his service to the community unselfish, his goodness and disinterestedness are of no avail if he lacks economic security."

As we reported in the January issue of the NEW OUTLOOK, it was only last October that a number of newspaper editorial workers were invited to Washington to attend the newspaper code hearings conducted by the NRA. Newspaper men in New York City, having in mind the intent and purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act to put people back to work and to raise wages, decided to take advantage of the invitation to appear with newspaper publishers and their business representatives before the Administrator for Industrial Recovery. And so they organized the first Newspaper Guild to represent newspaper editorial workers at the hearing. Inspired by the New York newspaper men's action, newspaper workers in other cities quickly organized their own local guilds. By December the local guilds had grown into a national group. The latter part of December a convention was held in Washington, D. C., and the American Newspaper Guild formally launched. Now, six months later, they are holding their second national convention in St. Paul on June 5th.

Under the NRA publishers of newspapers are required to furnish figures relating to maximum and minimum working hours. The American Newspaper Guild is conducting its own survey to ascertain the hours of work and rate of pay of editorial workers for the purpose of submitting the data to the special administrator of the newspaper code. The policy of protecting the economic interests of its members

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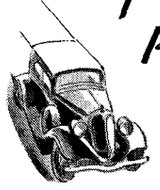

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will involve the American Newspaper Guild and the newspaper publishers in bitter controversy. Signs of battle already cloud the horizon. A few men active in the guild organization work have lost their jobs on newspapers. Investigations naturally follow. In the past newspaper editorial workers have, as a class, been more interested in their work than in starting controversies over conditions of work and rate of pay. In fact, they are as a class very amiable and tolerant human beings. But, as everyone knows, their economic security has been subject to the caprice of their employers, more perhaps than that of any other similar professional group. Their skill, personal popularity, knowledge, and loyalty may have contributed immeasurably to the fortunes of the publisher and the character of the paper, but this is of no value to themselves if the publisher-employer should dismiss one of them at an hour's notice, or decide to sell his newspaper to a chain of newspapers. Writers whose personal popularity have increased the circulation by thousands, loyal editorial workers who have served the paper for years, have been thrown out of employment over-night by having stockholders and directors agree to sell or discontinue the paper. Fortunes have been made by publishers, but one seldom if ever hears of a working newspaper man who has achieved wealth or even a modicum of economic security.

●

Fashion and Merchandising

RECENTLY THE FASHION GROUP OF NEW YORK, a professional organization of specialists in style, design, fashion analysis and fashion promotion, sponsored an exhibition of Fashions and Home Furnishings in Contemporary Man-Made Materials, at their galleries in Rockefeller Center, New York City. The exhibition was given to show what man is doing to create beautiful objects from the miracles of chemistry. Fabrics, costumes, lingerie, and furnishings for the home, all made from synthetic products unknown to the world fifty years ago, were shown against a modern background created by a designer of interiors. Out of raw materials, the fruits of a chemist's labor, these objects of utility and beauty were created and fashioned by designers, creative stylists, artists, and machine operators. The sponsors of this exhibition are themselves respon-

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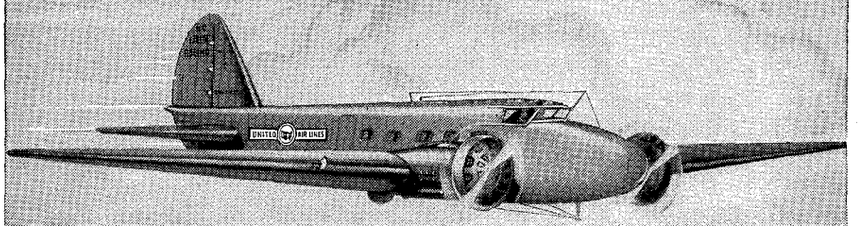

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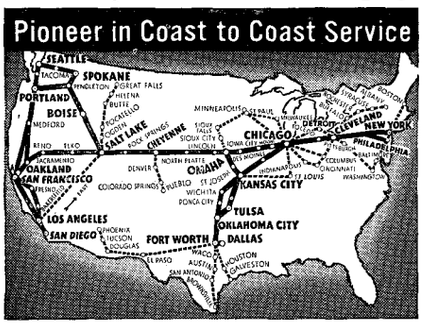

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Government

IN WASHINGTON a number of the *regular* departments of the government are being reorganized. Positions in many instances are being reclassified, new standards are being set up. Upon completion of the reclassification there will be new occupational opportunities for those who can meet the new requirements. More than ever before, most positions, high and low, will be filled by Civil Service examination. The new standard will include, we are informed by heads of certain departments, a high degree of intelligence and imagination in addition to the usual special or technical knowledge that is necessarily required. One of the departments in Washington undergoing considerable revision is the Department of Labor. All positions, according to the directors of the several divisions with which we have been in touch, will be filled through Civil Service tests.

●

Trade Associations

The confusion among industrial leaders in regard to code compliance must be dispelled. This is the opinion of those charged with certain responsibilities for carrying out the purpose of the codes. According to authoritative sources, trade associations will be obliged to do more than they have been doing up to now to enlighten the members of their associations and bring about better understanding of the code requirements. In other words, trade associations will have to give more attention to building up their public relations departments, not merely for promotional purposes but for the dissemination of educational information to members of the industry itself, if the Code Authority is to fulfill the requirements of the National Recovery Act. Newspaper men and women wanting new jobs or interested in finding new fields of opportunity may find this a field for their services.

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NEW OUTLOOK

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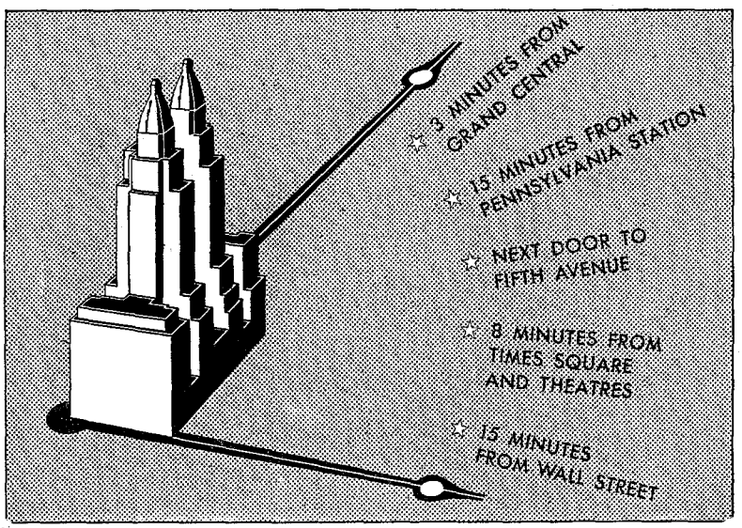
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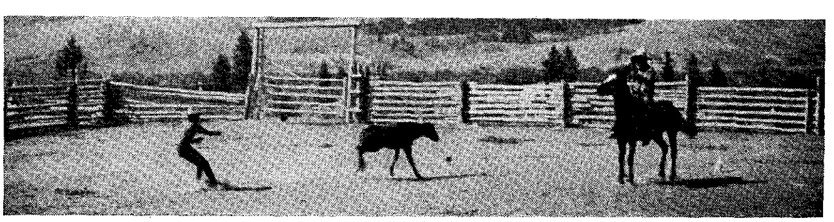

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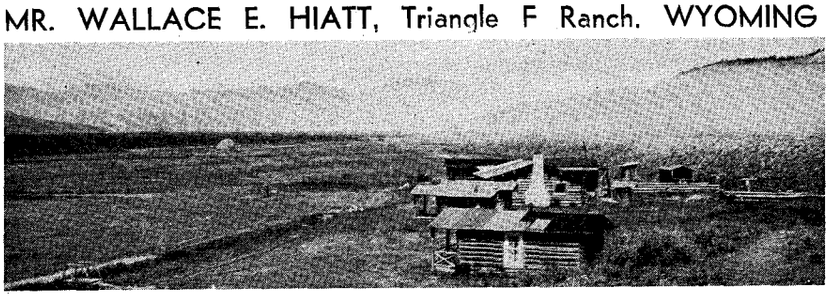

Checklist of New Ideas

ON A HORSE'S NAME

Herbert Swope not only was one of the most fascinating persons I ever met but he also, I think, qualified as an amazingly able christener of race horses. For instance, Gladiator was by Superman out of Lottawanna; Sporting Blood was a son of Fair Play; Wrecker and Devastation were sired by Wrack and Sidereal was by Star Shoot out of Milky Way.—*Carolyn Rothstein in "Now I'll Tell."*

ON PLANNED UNHAPPINESS

We shall all of us be made unhappy in one way or another, for the things we love, as well as things that are only privileges, will have to go. The first changes will have to do with statutes, with Constitution, with government. We shall be changing once for all and it will require the laying of rough, unholy hands on many a precedent.—*Rexford Guy Tugwell.*

ON DILLINGER

John is a good boy . . . He has horse sense.—*John W. Dillinger, Sr.*

ON RE-REPEAL ARGUMENTS

In fact, one thing that strikes the visitor to the average brewery is the absence of men—most of the work being done by machines. While there may have been a boom in the beer-bottle industry, there has been a falling off in the distribution of milk bottles.—*Fred A. Victor, State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York.*

ON THE NEW DEAL LAW MAKERS

I used to [believe in state rights] but I have been voting for so many things in this Congress that I have been taught against that I have gotten all mixed up.—*Representative Blanton (D) Texas.*

ON ENGLISH COURAGE

We are not afraid. We are fifth in air power. . . . —*Lady Nancy Astor.*

ON WHAT TO DO FOR YOUTH

"I have moments of real terror when I think we may be losing this generation. We have got to bring these young people into the active life of the community and make them *feel* that they are necessary." — *Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.*

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NEW OUTLOOK

A Farewell to Eagles

By George E. Sokolsky

THE NRA announced a new Blue Eagle campaign for the Spring. The Eagle was to get a number. Manufacturers and others who had faithfully complied with the Codes would get an Eagle with a number on it. Local compliance officers announced that they would go after the chiselers and they actually went after a few cleaners and barbers.

Then quite suddenly, yet not with too much acclaim, obviously inspired news accounts from Washington told of how President Roosevelt was going to stand by General Hugh Johnson and that that doughty warrior would not be permitted to resign, although the time had come for a New Deal in the NRA which certainly required a different personality. Simultaneously with this general affirmation that only the President's unwillingness to permit the impression to prevail that he is capable of sending so faithful a servant as Hugh Johnson to the scrap-heap, appear notices of the Darrow Report, that the NRA does not protect the consumer, that the codes are not enforced, and, that there might even have been malfeasance in office.

The Darrow report, biased and socialistic as it is, served the purpose of emphasizing the injustice that the New Deal works on the small man. But Darrow is right in this, that the NRA works in the direction of monopolies and that as Karl Marx made clear monopolies will destroy capitalism; therefore, even if Darrow is socialistic the logic is conclusive.

So, while all this conversation appears in the press, two things pass unnoticed:

First, that General Johnson's new, numbered Blue Eagle campaign seems to have disappeared. There have been no speeches, no street parades, no bands blaring. The Eagle seems to have remained in its eyrie. Probably its first flight a year ago so ruffled the great bird's feathers that it desired no more of that experience. The great campaign died in birth. It passed into a whisper.

Second, that the announcement of the new campaign evoked laughter. Columnists and cartoonists sensed the fun of reviving the Blue Eagle. Even the plain people laughed. For there seemed to be a curious contradiction involved in this revival. If the Blue Eagle has been a success, why should it need reviving? The announcement of the new campaign seemed to indicate that the bird had passed out somewhere along the line. If the Blue Eagle campaign of last Summer then did not produce reemployment of about 14,000,000 unemployed, and did not start a new prosperity and end the emergency, then why depend upon that bird anymore?

Even if this argument involves the

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fallacy that Rome could be built in a day, it is a fallacy of General Johnson's own making. He had stated what the NRA would do. Only such gentlemen whom he describes as Neanderthalers could possibly take him at his word, but he created a war-time atmosphere in this country; he gave the impression that all activities of the government should be subordinated to the NRA attempt to turn an Emergency into a Reform; he alone threatened to "crack-down" upon industrialist and merchant until one regarded his wild-cattish speeches as so much breakfast food. It was this emphasis on the NRA which diverted the mind of the public from sound economic doctrine that if the farmer could buy goods—that is, if he had the money to buy manufactured goods, the manufacturer would have some business. His attempt to raise prices and wages artificially and by code destroyed the London Economic Conference, impeded the work of successful revival by exporting capital and by reciprocal tariff arrangements. His insistence upon his particular cure-all encouraged renewed dissension between capital and labor, led to strikes in crucial industries and imperiled the normal increase in business inevitable as the country rose out of the Depression, which really ended in June, 1932. In a word, the NRA as operated by ballyhoo and other inspirational enthusiasm seemed during the past six months particularly to impede rather than to stimulate recovery.

●

So they laughed at the idea of a new campaign and it quieted down. It quieted down so completely that most of the populace forgot about it. The Blue Eagle thus begins its disappearance from American politics. This illegitimate bird, sired with uncertainty but born screeching amid shouts and cheering, is wandering back to its mountain fastnesses to trouble good folks no more. *Vale!*

Now, the question really arises: Is the NRA dead? It is difficult to measure the ebb of its vitality, because in so many instances, it seems as though it has wholly disappeared.

For instance, the question of compliance with the codes has been soft-pedaled because it has become obvious that many codes are impeding recovery in particular industries. Some of the codes are too onerous, too restrictive. Other codes are wholly unenforceable.

Then the fact became evident that such men as Henry Ford and John Wier, who defied compliance, got away with it. But a tailor in Newark or a barber in a tiny town goes to jail for chiseling a nickel off the price of a pressed suit or a shave. The employment of the legal department of the NRA to prosecute proprietors of beauty shops and barbers and other servicing agencies while the principal manufacturer of motor cars does not even paste a cellophane Blue Eagle on his wares, involves such an act of injustice that it undoubtedly is becoming the most vocal factor in the administration of the codes.

In all this effort to enforce the service codes, the essential fact seems to have disappeared that the primary object of the NRA was to end unemployment. The fact stands that there are still 8,000,000 unemployed, that of the 5,000,000 re-employed during this past year, a large number found work not because of the NRA but because of the PWA which really stimulated recovery by the ancient formula of public works—and, in spite of early criticism, has done a first-rate job of it.

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The theory upon which the NRA operated was that if the hours of labor could be reduced and if wages could be increased, the employer would voluntarily or, involuntarily, employ additional labor. And in some of the very large industries, this did occur: additional labor has been taken on during the past year. The small employer of labor has not been able to afford additional labor. He has raised his prices, he has functioned on a basis of fixed prices and minimum hours, but this has involved reduced service and a falling off of consumer's interest.

Here is an experience in which the writer was actually a participant. For more than two years I had employed a garage at a monthly rate to wash, clean and store my car. The agreement is for a seven-day-a-week service, the general method being that the car goes into the garage at night dirty and comes out in the morning clean.

One Sunday, while we were driving through the country, the car went into a soft road and became encrusted with yellow mud. In the evening, it went into the garage. It came out on Monday with all the mud of a Massachusetts country road still on it, but by now considerably hardened. The interior of the car was no less dirty.

I telephoned to the garage and asked why the car had not been cleaned.

"It's against the Code," the proprietor insisted.

"Against what Code?" I asked.

"The NRA!"

"What's that got to do with keeping my car clean?" I asked wondering whether some Alice-in-Wonderland code had been devised for garages.

"The Code does not let us work on Sunday. No car can be washed on Sunday. It's against the NRA. And what's more, if you object to this, you're insulting the Government."

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The fact that this particular garage owner had agreed to give me a seven-day-a-week service at a stated monthly rate, and was now giving me a six-day-a-week service at the same rate intrigued me. In a word, compliance with the code involved the consumer being gypped to the extent of one day's service. In fact, when the code was first signed, an attempt was made to increase the monthly rate, which I resisted. Had I not resisted, I should be paying an increased rate for a six instead of a seven day service. Furthermore, no one had been told that the service had been reduced by a day. No circular had been issued to the customer. It had been lopped off silently.

But that isn't all of the story. I withdrew the car from this garage, after paying my bill there. I tried to make a similar arrangement with another garage.

"No," said the proprietor, "I can't do business with you. It's against the code."

"What do you mean?"

"We cannot take cars which are withdrawn from other garages. It's against the code."

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We tried every neighborhood garage and in each we found that the manager could not take a car withdrawn from another garage. We also found that none of these garages service cars on Sunday. Of course, it was possible to find a garage in which to park the car—a smart business man will get on even in a regimented age.

This tale explains why there has been so little re-employment in spite of the terrific efforts of the government. What the garage man really meant was that if he complied with the code, he would have to employ additional labor. As he has no intention of employing additional labor, he chisels the consumer—who probably won't know anything about it until an accident in the country encrusts his car with mud. Furthermore, these gentlemen realize that if you say, "It's in the code," the average American shrugs his shoulders and let's anything pass. Compliance involves accepting every absurdity that ingenious and not disinterested minds might have included in the codes. Therefore, put it down to NRA, and let it pass.

This gouging of the consumer has, of course, been the fundamental evil in the NRA from the very start, and has been the cause of constant quarrels, but there can be no avoidance of it unless for compliance is substituted control, and that the Government dare not risk, and probably has no intention of risking, because control may lead to ownership which is Communism. And indisputably there are no Communistic tendencies in this Administration as was conclusively proved at the Wirt hearing! If then we are to limit ourselves to mere compliance, then the NRA grows fainter and fainter as more and more smart boys evolve tricks to give the appearance of complying while actually not increasing employment and at the same time tricking the consumer.

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Consumer difficulties under the NRA really arise from the fundamental error in the cart-before-the-horse policy inaugurating it. An orderly, if undramatic, procedure would have been to increase farm prices, probably by increasing exports of agricultural commodities; then to let nature take its course, for if the American farmer has money to spend the country is prosperous. Recovery depended, and still depends, upon agrarian recovery. This policy was not pursued because the First Blue Eagle Campaign seemed to indicate a short-cut to Recovery. Whereas all human experience should have been convincing that short-cuts, rarely if ever, solve fundamental economic problems, it was hoped that this would be an exception, that the acceptance of the spirit of the NIRA, however dubious its letter may be, would put 14,000,000 men back to work in industry and the service trades.

This theory was complicated by the very strong desire on the part of President Roosevelt and his friends to achieve not only Recovery but to reform all the social and economic institutions of this country. Whereas recovery involves building up, reform involves breaking down. To reform is to alter; to change, to clear away the debris. Recovery called for an encouragement to business and industry, but reform demanded restrictions and impediments. The result has been that the NRA has been diverted into many fields, but re-employment, which it set out to achieve, is still unaccomplished and we face the fifth Winter of the Depression with 8,000,000 unemployed.

Now, it is important to note that other Administration agencies of the Roosevelt Administration realized from the very start that raising prices and wages in indusry without getting money to the farmer would solve no fundamental problem in the Depression or the Recovery. The Department of Agriculture has published a pamphlet entitled *"Economic Bases for the Agricultural Adjustment Act"* by Mordecai Ezekiel and Louis A. Bean, which if read carefully provides the basis for the correct assumption that the NRA can only be a confusing factor in Recovery until the disparity between the prices of farm products and manufactured goods has been wiped out. The farmer's share in the national income has steadily fallen from 18.5 per cent in 1919 to approximately 7 per cent in 1932. The farmer's income decreased but his payments to property owners in the form of interest and dividends increased. During the Depression the exchange value of farm products had fallen to 50 per cent of the pre-war average, and even less for services such as labor, taxes and credit. In a word, it took twice as many potatoes to buy a pair of overalls as it did before the War. The farmer, then, stopped buying. He could not buy manufactured goods at this rate of exchange. This was one of the principal causes of the Depression.

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Instead, however, of setting out to increase the price of farm products, which can be accomplished effectively only by stimulating the export trade, the NRA raised the prices of manufactured goods. To save the farmer from total economic collapse, then, the processing tax, uneconomic, unsound and costly, was devised. The farmer had to get money to buy the goods that industry was manufacturing if industrial prices were to be maintained and the government had to give the farmer the money to buy the goods. But the government was not holding the bag; it is the taxpayer, including the farmer, who has to pay for the huge deficits which this curious round-about method produced. In a word, the AAA to save the farmer from the effects of the NRA had to embark upon a policy of which Henry A. Wallace says:

"Under nationalism we must be prepared to make permanent the retirement of from 40 to 100 million acres of crop land. Forty million, if we take out good land; 100 million if we take out the worst. Furthermore, if we continue year after year with only 25 or 30 million acres of cotton in the South instead of 40 or 45 million acres, it may be necessary after a time to shift part of the southern population, and there is a question as to just what kind of activity these southern farm laborers should engage in. We will find exactly the same dilemma, although not on quite such a great scale, in the corn and wheat belts."

In a word, the price-raising, hour-reducing, farmer-ignoring policy of the NRA has placed the farmer in the predicament of reducing his productivity and depending upon the government to keep him from starvation. This is neither recovery nor reform. It is confusion.

All the economic activities of the Roosevelt Administration have been justified on the basis of a grand experiment. It was not possible in 1932 to know exactly what would work and brave and bold experimentation was to some extent justified, particularly if cautiously handled. It was only natural that some experiments would fail—that is why they call it an experiment. It was also within probability that some experiments would be costly, that some of the results would prove to be harmful and dangerous to the welfare of the country. As long as the American

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people had to face experimentation, they blithely supported the President in anything he might desire to do. The objective was to find a formula that would put men to work.

As the experiments proceeded, it became obvious that a struggle between economic nationalism and economic internationalism was developing and that differences of opinion between Secretaries Hull, Wallace and Roper and General Johnson would finally have to be settled by a specific reply to the specific question as to whether the NRA should continue to operate without regard to the interests of the farmer and without regard to the possibility of achieving recovery by increasing the consumption of American goods in world markets. It was as part of this conflict of opinion that Mr. Hull took his stand for world trade at the London Economic Conference and at the Montevideo Conference. It was in this connection that Mr. Wallace wrote his brilliant pamphlet, *"America Must Choose,"* which more than any other cause, focused American public opinion upon the clarified issues involved in this basic difference of view point.

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Mr. Roosevelt, however, could not choose. The NRA had become the keystone of his Administration. The American people had been press-agented into the acceptance of its doctrine as the sole cure for the Depression. The entire country had been regimented in its support. To admit its failure would have been to admit that the Administration had failed.

Lenin once faced just this problem bravely. He stepped back three steps to move forward one. But in the United States this is difficult because of the frequency of elections. What, for instance, would be the effect upon the forthcoming Congressional election if Mr. Roosevelt were to admit that the NRA was a complete flop and had to be disbanded and its military administrators sent back to their army posts or into retirement? What effect would it have upon the state of mind of the people?

Political consideration then forced the President to continue to support the NRA, even to the extent of attempting a new Blue Eagle campaign, while at the same time he requested from Congress permissive powers to operate the Hull Tariff. Political considerations have kept General Johnson in office.

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It has, however, become evident that there are too many codes, that they are confusing, that the service codes are harmful to the consumer, that prices for manufactured goods are altogether without any justifiable relationship to the prices of farm commodities.

To correct some of these evil effects of the NRA the Commodity Dollar of Professor Warren was employed. This experiment proved a dud. It just did nothing at all. Explosively ballyhooed, it had to be dropped quietly. No announcement was ever made that it was dropped. It just is no more. Similarly the licensing clause in the NIRA was allowed to lapse. Similarly the CWA passed out of the picture.

The Administration introduces its experiments with brazen *eclat*. It lets them drop quietly. The test tube is thrown away and the experimenter wipes his hands.

Is not that exactly what is happening to the NRA? Compliance in the service codes is no longer enforced after the arrest of the tailor, Jacob Maged, made the NRA ridiculous.

The struggle between the retail store and the chain store can no longer be ignored. Price-fixing has hit the individual storekeeper even harder than the maximum hours and minimum wage provision in the code. The chain store has all the advantages under the codes, so that small shopkeepers are placed in a non-competitive position.

The struggle between capital and labor over the collective bargaining clauses of the NIRA has forced the Administration to make a decision which conflicts with the impression of organized labor that the company union would be destroyed and that all workers would be forced to join the American Federation of Labor. The question is by no means settled and as long as Section 7a of NIRA continues to be law of the land, strikes will constantly take place in labor's effort to enforce its interpretation of its provisions.

Gradually, therefore, the government will have to and is throwing the device of the NRA overboard. Less enthusiasm, less certainty, less vituperation is apparent in the NRA. It must have been a chastened Hugh Johnson who confirmed on May 11 to the correspondent of the *"New York Herald Tribune"*:

"That the NRA intended to withdraw its codification efforts in the field of 'service' industries, such as cleaning and dyeing establishments, laundries, restaurants, hotels, barber shops, garages and beauty shops. He indicated further that the Harriman (Tenn.) hosiery mills, storm center of the first NRA, probably would get its blue eagle back next week.

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"It also was indicated by General Johnson that when the steel industry's code is renewed at the end of this month it will have been amended to prohibit the use of a 'waiting period' in its open-price provision. That provision requires all members of the industry to file their price lists with the code authority, the prices not to take effect until a certain number of days after the filing."

This report also contains the following interesting paragraphs:

"General Johnson said today that the clamor of little industries to be codified is 'one of the worst things around here.' The fly-swatter industry was cited as a case in point, also the potato chip industry, and—one that General Johnson himself nominated for the list—the pig's nose-ring industry.

"The Administrator said that writing a code 'for some of these industries employing less than 250 men' was 'just as much work as writing a code for the steel industry.' In that connection, he disclosed that a survey just made at the NRA showed that 'we are spending 85 per cent of our time, effort, personnel and money on about 15 per cent of the problem,' the few major problems being pushed out of sight in the welter of minor problems presented by minor industries. He said he was trying to work out a plan 'for what somebody has called "coagulating" the little codes.'"

What can this mean but that the NRA is beginning to drop its load? The small man is a voter; labor votes; the farmer votes. But apart from politics, it has become apparent that the NRA is impeding recovery. The crescendo is dying into a faint memory of what was once the full force of a brass band.

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The Women of Staatenlos State

Will the Pan-American treaty be the answer to equal nationality rights for men and women? The writer indicates a possible error of the theorists, who wanted another law and who are about to push the problem of the divided family upon the entire world.

By Henrietta Ripperger

THE traditional solution offered by the theorist for any problem is more legislation. Even our recent experience with the Prohibition Amendment has not destroyed the delusion that when a question is answered in the statute book it is answered in life.

It is in something of this spirit of pure theory it would seem that the National Woman's Party has attacked the extremely complicated questions that arise when women marry aliens, move from one country to another and bear children. With such theorists, who fail to face the realistic implications of their act, in the saddle, it seems likely that we are on the verge today of pushing the problem of the "divided family" upon the entire world.

The question revolves around married women whose husbands are of a different nationality, who go over the seas or across the borders and who therefore find themselves caught in a mesh of circumstances so confusing that they recall the situation in the old fairy story in which the princess, going through a room, tears down the delicate cobwebs only to find them constantly rewoven before her.

As their solution, the Woman's Party advocates the Montevideo Treaty and the Equal Nationality Bill known as H. R. 3673. The Treaty, if ratified, will enable every married woman to retain her nationality. The Bill, which at the moment of going to press, has passed the Senate and the House, not only assures the married woman independent citizenship but allows her to transmit it to her children. Both treaty and bill sound so simple and so right that we are almost fooled into believing that they offer a final solution of the difficulties of these migratory married women.

Unfortunately, however, they do nothing of the kind. The bill, says an authority, "is a wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable addition to the already existing nationality problems of the world."

There are no actual figures to show the number of women affected. However, the World War set thousands of families adrift from their moorings. Their troubles have engaged the attention of the nations of the world ever since 1918. The International Migration Service, the agency engaged in helping separated families all over the world, finds their numbers constantly increasing. The League of Nations appointed a special committee to study their situation and the present Administration considered it of such importance that Miss Perkins appointed the Ellis Island Committee. This committee, of which Mrs. Vincent Astor is a member, was asked to consider methods of handling immigration so as to do away with the racketeer *and to protect the family.*

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While these thoughtful and experienced agencies are studying the situation we find the Woman's Party trying to beat the gun. Unwilling to wait for the opinion of experts, they made an issue of the matter at Montevideo in December and obtained the signatures of the South American countries and the United States delegates to the Montevideo Treaty. They pushed through the Equal Nationality Bill. Their action is regarded by many as hasty, premature and likely to do great damage. It reminds us of a story brought back from a religious conference at which the attitude of the church toward an important issue was being discussed. Things were going too slowly to suit one enthusiast. Peering around she saw a man of well known prejudices entering the hall. "Here comes So-and-So," she said, "now something will be *done.* He's a whirlwind."

In the silence that followed the great man's entrance a sombre voice from the rear remarked, "The Lord was not in the whirlwind."

The very crusading spirit of its leaders makes the Woman's Party dangerous at a time when hasty and ill-considered action may do more harm than good. The Equal Nationality Bill is a kind of trial balloon. If the President signs it—and that question will probably have been settled by the time this appears in print—the ratifying of the Montevideo Treaty by the Senate seems very probable. And the Montevideo Treaty is considered just an entering wedge. If it is accepted on this side of the Atlantic the Woman's Party hopes to push it through via Geneva in all the countries of the world. It is high time we stopped to consider what this would mean.

To understand the action now going on it is necessary to sketch in an historical background. Briefly it is this. "No first class power," explains Peter F. Snyder, former assistant to the Secretary of Labor, "has established by its statutes what we have so naively termed 'equality of citizenship.' Every other important nation, recognizing

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. . . the responsibility of the male for the protection and support of his family and his government, holds that a married woman takes her husband's nationality and a child takes the nationality of his father."

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The abnormal conditions of war gave the feminists an opportunity and an argument. In 1917 the American girl in the United States married to an Austrian or a German learned to her horror that she was herself legally an alien enemy of her country. She might never have set foot outside her native town of Pittsburgh or New York, Hoboken or Oshkosh. Yet her telephone might be tapped, her conversations reported and her baggage searched. She was subject to the same restrictions as any other alien enemy. This brought home dramatically to the American born woman the disadvantages of losing her native citizenship. It was a wartime condition. It made possible the passage of the Cable Act.

This act was passed in 1922 largely through the efforts of the powerful lobby of the Woman's Party. It provided that an American woman marrying after that date retained her status as a citizen regardless of marriage. The sponsors of the Cable Act were not in an international mood. It was passed on a wave of indignation that any good American could become an alien enemy merely by marriage. Yet it is obvious that international marriages involve international questions. To consider the rights of only one set of persons usually means hardship for others. The second provision of the Cable Act was by implication that the American man who married a foreign woman did not give her his citizenship. She presumably retained her status as, let us say, a French or German woman. This was true only in theory. Actually in France and Germany, and in various other countries, the woman who marries a foreigner loses her citizenship. The law of her country does not inquire whether she has gained citizenship elsewhere.

Out of his long experience Mr. Snyder says of this act, "The difficulties, embarrassments, heartaches and tribulations resulting from this mistake would fill volumes if the facts could be assembled. Despite concerted efforts of feminists, no first class power in the dozen years since 1922 has followed our experimentalist step."

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The effect of the Cable Act, then, was to create a new international problem. This is the unfortunate woman who has no country. The law has a name for her. She is called "staatenlos." She has lost her state. There are thousands of her, and she is one of the most troublesome responsibilities of the League of Nations.

Let us suppose that going to France for a few years on business you marry a little French girl. Over there, what with this and what with that, you go mad. Or perhaps you die, leaving your wife penniless. She has lost her citizenship at home by marriage, yet she is not a citizen of your country! She will not be able to find work, for jobs are kept for citizens. She has no claim on any government for relief. Her condition is desperate. This is the result of the operation of the Cable Act.

The next step taken by the Woman's Party was to keep hammering away at Geneva for independent citizenship for women. It has, up to date, been unsuccessful.

Its aim, however, is to extend over the world the principle of citizenship independent of marriage embodied in the Montevideo Treaty, which as we noted is an entering wedge. This treaty would solve the problem of the staatenlos woman by allowing her to retain her citizenship if it were accepted by France, Germany, or England. But in doing so it would strike at the heart of the family by extending to these countries the unnatural condition which prevails here under the Cable Act by which husband and wife are citizens of different countries and may find themselves legally even at war.

The countries on the farther side of the Atlantic are unalterably opposed to the division of the family by different nationalities. The South American countries, where the question is probably pretty much an academic one, have been influenced by the Woman's Party here to press the matter at Geneva. Among other agencies of the League of Nations, the subject is being considered by its Committee for Assistance to Aliens. This committee in turn took counsel with the International Migration Service, which knew the field from practical experience with aliens in trouble in every country on the globe. The government appointed Joseph P. Chamberlain, of Columbia, and George L. Warren, head of the International Migration Service, as its representatives on an international committee to consider the problems of these divided families. Here matters stood when the applecart was knocked over at Montevideo. A bad matter was made worse.

The Conference at Montevideo last December was the seventh conference of the Pan-American countries. Its deliberations were reported in the kind of small news items which people generally don't read, and in this case few did. Before anyone realized it the delegates were acting on a "convention," which is a technical name for a treaty before it becomes a treaty. A treaty, so to speak, in the egg. This was the Montevideo Treaty.

At this point it is understood that the Department of State decided that the delegates needed a little instruction from back home, and presumably the delegates were advised to sign the treaty, if they did so, with reservations. These reservations provided that even if the treaty were ratified by the Senate, Congress would have to pass an enabling act.

This advice was generally interpreted as an attempt on the part of the Administration to call a halt to any precipitate action. The Woman's Party then introduced the bill which we have referred to as H. R. 3673 and which at the moment of writing awaits the President's signature. This is the history of the thing up to the present moment.

Now it would seem that in attempting to destroy the unity of citizenship of the family, the Woman's Party is advocating a degree of individualism which smacks of the New England of Emerson and has little to do with the thought of today. It offers rights for women as a cure-all for the baffling conditions that arise when the

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population of the world moves about as it is doing today. The legislation which it has sponsored has helped to create some of the worst of these difficulties. An extension of such legislation would be hostile to the happiness of married women. And it is around married women that the whole controversy rages.

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While civilization shifts beneath her feet, the wife and mother is trying to keep the institution of marriage and the family from going down like a house of bricks over an earthquake. Eduard Lindemann gives it as his opinion that marriage has stood the terrific strain put on it by the Depression better than any other institution. It certainly has had very little help from the Woman's Party. To hinder the woman who is trying to unite her family is to indulge in official foolishness. At present everything is against her in an international marriage. In addition to the Cable Act and Quota Law are the conditions brought on as their result. There is usually enforced absence, always dangerous to marital happiness. There are the property requirements, when a man brings in an alien wife, which hard times have made it almost impossible for him to meet. In the future, should the conditions of the treaty become world wide, these difficulties would arise all over the world and under the terms of Bill H. R. 3673 even the children might be subjects of different countries.

We therefore prefer to reject the policies of the Woman's Party and to listen to the agencies already mentioned which are concerned with the welfare of the whole family, because it is in this welfare that the happiness of married women indubitably lies. These agencies keep before themselves two aims. The first is the larger one and lies in the future, namely, some international agreement as to the method of dealing with the divided family; second, in the present, is the humane administration of such laws as now exist.

Two cases show the difference in method of handling.

A few weeks ago a girl in Canada asked permission to enter the United States in order to visit her mother, who was seriously ill in a New York hospital. Permission was refused her because she had been over once before during the year. She was determined to see her mother, so she paid $25 to a smuggler, who brought her across. She was stopped at Rouse's Point, on the American side, and there placed under arrest. Her case was referred to Washington.

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The intention of the law as it applies to the Canadian border is to prevent the smuggling of Chinese coolies and the like into this country. We therefore have an agreement with Canada by which anyone caught making an illegal entry may under certain conditions be shipped back direct to his native land without bothering the Canadian authorities.

It now came out that the girl was born in Poland and was technically a Polish citizen, although she left the country as a baby. By a strict legal procedure she would have been dumped in Poland. The law was certainly never meant, however, to prevent an impulsive girl from visiting her sick mother. The authorities in Washington allowed her to make her visit and go home to Canada.

The mismanaged case was that of a Jew born in Boston whose name was Sally, which happens to be a Jewish masculine name. He went to Germany and there needed a birth certificate for which he sent to Boston. The Boston office found him registered as Sally and after the name was written the word "Female." The man's father, then living in Boston, made an affidavit that the child was a boy. The official refused the certificate, however. The situation was finally saved by an election in which, fortunately for Sally, the Boston official lost his job.

Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Daniel MacCormick has therefore undertaken the task of humanizing the man who actually handles the alien in American ports of entry and educating him to use his common sense. The case of the girl caught on the border was humanely handled—at Washington. Might it not have been quite as humanely handled at Rouse's Point with great saving of time and taxpayers' money?

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When Frances Perkins became Secretary of Labor she found the Bureau of Immigration planted down in the Department of Labor like a big bird hatched in a little nest from a strange egg. It was eating up everything, starving the Department of Labor and almost crowding out the Children's Bureau. In plain figures the handling of immigration problems took $9,000,000 out of the department's total budget of $11,000,000, and this at a time when labor was facing unprecedented problems.

By a wise use of his authority the man on the job could cut a great deal of red tape and effect great savings. The immigration official is the "cop on the corner" in international traffic. Some traffic officers fill the court calendar by arresting every man who goes twenty-five miles an hour when the legal speed is twenty. Others, by a combination of good sense and humor, enforce the spirit of the law. But the traffic cop has authority to use his own judgment. There is an analogy here between the policeman and the immigration official. Mr. MacCormick told his men in a recent speech that their duties were in part judicial.

In further carrying out this aim the Administration is attempting to revise intelligence tests given to aliens who wish to enter this country.

In an office in a small European capital, one of our vice-consuls sat behind a desk facing a woman who was seeking readmission to the United States to rejoin her husband and children after a visit to her parents.

"What would you do," he said, "if you were walking across a field and saw your house on fire?"

The peasant woman looked earnestly at the interpreter who asked such strange questions. Her home, a farmhouse with a thatched roof, would burn like a torch. There was no fire department in the country district where she lived. She made the only possible answer. She said,

"I would sit right down and cry."

The man put another question through the interpreter. He asked,

"How many feathers has a goose?"

The woman stared again, astonished. She had plucked too many geese not to know that the feathers on a bird are like the stars in the sky. Obviously, the gentleman who put the questions was a little crazy. So she did not answer. She merely shook her head.

These two questions are among the tests devised by

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psychologists to determine the intelligence of aliens. The person who does not make the conventional response was debarred on the ground that he or she might be feeble minded. These tests are at last being revised.

The intention of such intelligence tests is to keep out persons who might later become charges on the public. The woman who was asked about the feathers on the goose had a husband in the United States able and willing to support her. She had, in fact, lived in the middle west for nine years on a farm and had merely overstayed her leave on a visit. The intention of the law would have been fulfilled even if she had been allowed to enter.

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In extreme cases the difficulties must be handled by what is called in social work patter the case work method. A little of such work is already going on in courts all over the world. In the city of Detroit the court recently found an extraordinary demand on the part of foreign born men for divorces. The wives were usually in the old country. The judges were convinced that marital difficulties were due to separation and the impossibility of maintaining two homes in hard times, one for the man and one for the wife. They did not believe that incompatibility, common among people who can afford to be neurotic, played much part here. They got in touch with the authorities in the home town of the foreign born man through the International Migration Service. Facts were assembled, the wife consulted as to her wishes. The court in Detroit was apprised of all the social facts with the result that in many cases the family was successfully reunited.

It would be silly to pretend that the nations of the world could proceed indefinitely, however, without some common basis for their dealings with these families. And such an agreement is the second aim. Agreements like this can only be reached by people who have the same humane point of view. They will not be reached by going about crying, "There ought to be a law." They will not be arrived at in the narrow sectional spirit. A committee on immigration appointed by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York recently brought back among others the recommendation that no immigrant be admitted "unless he has a definite country to which he may be deported, if occasion demands" Such a proposal takes into consideration the interests of women of only one country.

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But while it is impractical to hope for a solution in black and white, it is possible and even practical to work out some system of handling the cases of these women and their families through an international committee.

The problems of interstate commerce brought up situations which no one state could handle. A satisfactory technique was finally evolved in the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, a body of able men entrusted with extraordinary judiciary powers.

The old and bitter fights over rights at sea have been settled by agreement among nations on the subject of maritime procedure. It is in some intelligent agreement between countries and agencies involved working, if necessary, without benefit of treaty that the happiness of the woman in the case will rest.

George Moore in one of his books of reminiscences gives a bit of Irish history from the 20th Century that illustrates admirably the difference between theory and practice. An Irish patriot, he says, worked out a plan by which remote farmers shipped eggs direct to the consumer. All went well until the customers began to complain. The containers arrived safely but the eggs were broken in transit. The patriot was informed of this. He brushed the news aside. "Tell them," he said, "that I am not concerned with the fate of the individual egg."

The Montevideo Conference and the Woman's Party are operating in the realm of theory. The members of the Committee on Immigration for the State Chamber of Commerce are working in the realm of sectional interests. The Administration, the League of Nations, the International Migration Service and the Committee for Assistance to Aliens are working in the realm of practice all over the world. May we not safely leave the future of the poor little egg in transit in their hands?

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No, But I Saw the Pictures

Are we in danger of becoming a nation of news picture addicts? A new machine of the Machine Age, starting shortly to operate on 10,000 miles of telephone lines, will accentuate the movement of taking the eye off the printed word and placing it upon the news pictures.

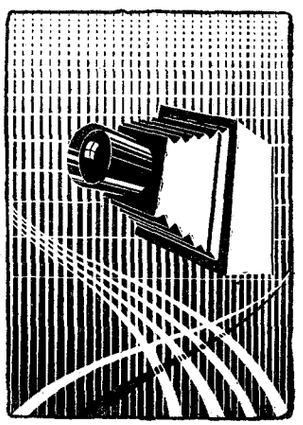
By Anthony North

A CYLINDER revolving 100 times a minute, moving horizontally one inch each minute . . . a beam of light . . . a light valve . . . a shutter opening and closing, opening and closing, 1,200 times per second . . . another machine of the Machine Age, finally perfected after an initial experiment costing $2,800,000.

It has been perfected in order to give you as you hurry home in the evening from your office, or from shopping, a picture in your evening paper of the ship which sank that morning in the Golden Gate, or the finish of the Third at Hialeah, or the sappy beaming countenance of the freshly picked bathing beauty in the very act of being picked that noon at Dallas.

This machine supplants an older, an admittedly unsatisfactory method of high speed electrical transmission of photographic evidence of those human peccadillos which in America are called "news." It will mark the entrance, after a fight which nearly split in two the membership of the Associated Press, revived a bitter feud between William Randolph Hearst, Roy W. Howard, of the Scripps-Howard papers, and the A. P. membership, of a new factor into the changing daily "reading habits" of millions of Americans. It will begin to operate toward the summer's close over 10,000 miles of leased wires in the United States.

Conceivably it might be worth while to consider this one more machine exclusively from the mechanical and inventive standpoint. It is indeed a credit to the men who work in laboratories. A positive print is placed on the cylinder described above. As this cylinder revolves while at the same time it is moving slowly in a horizontal plane, the tiny beam of light is focused upon the picture at a 45 degree angle. This is reflected upon the light valve, inside of which is the automatic shutter operating 1,200 times per second. The reflected beam sends the lights and shadows of the picture through the shutter to a conventional photo-electric cell. This cell, the well known "electric eye" which is omnipresent in so many such inventions these days, translates the image into electric impulses which can then be transmitted over a telephone line—to the receiving machine, which can be thousands of miles away. The receiver simply reverses the process, registering the image on a sensitized film, which is then developed and printed as any ordinary picture would be.



Or, one might inquire why the advent of such a machine came so near recently to disrupting the membership of one of the world's largest news gathering organizations?

Or again, one could investigate its economic significance, the meaning of its initial cost of nearly $3,000,000; its capacity to earn for its owners and developers, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the sum of $56 per wire mile; its power to raise the price to a newspaper publisher of the picture of a cross-legged bathing beauty to the value of an old master.

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This machine, which will be so shortly serving us, although many American newspaper publishers don't want it, seems likely to have a profound effect upon the fiscal structure of our daily press. It will divert a considerable portion of expenditures, which in the past have been going to workers exclusively engaged in the field of journalism, to pocketbooks having no direct employee relationship with the business of newspaper manufacturing. It will intensify that economic struggle now going on within the profession which centers in the newspaper guilds of America. And one more thing—it increases the chances of the odds-on favorite in the Orage Handicap: "*Civilization is a race between education and destruction.*"

"Did you read the story this morning about . . ."

"No, *but I saw the pictures.*"

The new telephoto machine of the A. T. & T. is, in any final analysis, but the latest materialization of a symbol of a changing habit in America. We are coming more and more to depend upon pictures to give us the news of what the world did yesterday. The true significance of the Machine in this situation is that it contains a potent economic force to accelerate that movement of taking the eye off the printed word and placing it upon the picture.

There are many who have wondered why the habit of garnering information concerning current happenings from pictures has not developed faster in America, our habits being what they are, the degree of technical illiteracy being as high as it is. There is no great conservative illustrated periodical in America, exclusive of the daily field, such

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as the *"Berliner-Illustrater Zeitung"* of Germany, the French *"Vu,"* or the London *"Sketch."* Mr. Ochs' mid-week pictorial review, as far as mass circulation is concerned, is practically non-existent. It was never intended to be a great publication. It was launched merely to secure continuous run service for the *"New York Times's"* rotogravure presses. The success of the daily picture tabloid newspaper has been decidedly spotty in the United States, although the *"New York Daily News,"* started for the purpose of burying half a million dollars of excess profits which were made by the *"Chicago Tribune,"* is today, with its circulation of 1,428,908, the largest newspaper in America.

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January 13, 1928, is an important date in the rise of the picturization of news in America. It is the day after the night of the execution of Ruth Snyder at Sing Sing. On that morning at 7:55 o'clock the presses of the "*New York Daily News*" were still running. It was an unusual hour for the presses of a morning paper to be turning. The foreman stood, and a night editor stood in the press room looking at the hands of a clock. At 8 o'clock a bell clanged, and the presses began to slow, the whirring dwindled to silence. Then someone spoke a figure in a disappointing tone. It was 150,000. The end of the run, dictated by the paper's AP franchise as 8 o'clock, was closely watched as it was hurried into waiting trucks. . . . At 10 o'clock that morning an advertising salesman of the *"Daily News"* came in to weep on the shoulder of his boss, the cancellation order of a $10,000 advertising contract in his hand. A long distance telephone operator began "trying lines" in a frantic phone search for Captain Joe Patterson, publisher of the *"News,"* who was on vacation somewhere in the Canadian woods. By the time Captain Patterson was located the price for a copy of that morning's *"News,"* carrying on its front page a macabre picture of Mrs. Snyder dying in the electric chair, was at the premium price of fifty cents.

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Captain Patterson was told about the picture, was told the now twice-told tale of how one of his photographers, brought in from Chicago lest he be recognized by the New York press fraternity, had obtained admittance to the death chamber as a reporter, had sat in the first row of witnesses, a concealed camera strapped to his left ankle and had watched Mrs. Snyder die while he did something which had never been done before: photographed a woman in the act of being electrocuted. Captain Patterson was also told the premium price which his paper was bringing that morning. Also how the negative did not reach the *"News"* office until after many early editions had been run. Also how the late run carrying the famous picture was reluctantly stopped at 8 o'clock in order to protect the AP franchise for morning newspapers. Also how they had just lost $10,000 worth of advertising because the thing was done at all.

"All right," barked Captain Patterson. "Run it again tomorrow, all editions!"

This so-called "picture scoop" has now passed into history. By many the picture has not been forgotten; but more important, the effect of the storm of controversy which it created lives on. A tidal wave of criticism broke over Manhattan. Conservatives bitterly denounced the act and the picture. Newspaper people argued about it, pro and con; and as in most such arguments sense, reason and logic were fried to a crisp in the heat of the disputation. Those who attacked from the base of good taste ignored the obvious fact that the reporters of the conservative press had striven mightily with adjectives and lurid adverbs to do the identical thing which the camera eye had done so easily in one long sustained blink. Many of the attackers forgot this; just as they forgot also to mention that it was easy to skip the printed details of the word painting of Edwin C. Hill and his confreres whereas the picture was in a sense omnipresent. The defenders of the *"News"* could not combat the charges that the picture was gotten by subterfuge. Warden Lewis E. Lawes declared a perpetual ban on all photographers. And the final result of all the discussion was that those who craved their news in picture form were led to the belief that their rights to have whatever the camera could give them was being somehow unconstitutionally curbed.

There is no evidence that this event, finally construed as a test case for the freedom of the camera, led to any orgy of publishing gruesome pictorial offenses against good taste, but it certainly did intensify the effort of the "picture people" to capture on the camera plate any and all happenings which could by any stretch of the imagination be termed "news." The emphasis remained on crime.

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The criminal psychiatrists are beginning to deplore this tendency, and point to the resultant evils. There is no doubt that over a large class of Americans the news picture has a far more effective hold than the printed news report. This goes both for the subject and for the observer. The Dillinger case (still open) provides a pertinent example. Using hind-sight only, of course, we cannot now perceive what possessed the lady sheriff to pose for news photographs with Mr. Dillinger. She has been roundly denounced by an attorney general for this indulgence of a seeming vanity, which has spread in recent years through all classes of Americans, "to have your picture in the paper." More persons, it would seem, would rather have their picture in the paper than to have their name mentioned therein. The reason is perhaps obvious—more people will see the picture. Second and third string gangsters who would never think of talking to a reporter beam with evident pleasure when camera shutters click. Giuseppe Zangara, would-be assassin of the thirty-second President of the United States, is reported to have died deploring the fact that there were no camera men present at his execution. Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe, psychiatrist, writing in a recent issue of the *"Journal of Criminal Law,"* identifies the late Zangara's death cry, "What! No pictures? No cameraman here?" as a pertinent symptom of a dangerous psychosis.

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It should, however, be borne in mind that the run of the mill criminal acts are dull, boring and extremely stupid. It is the duty of the crime reporter on occasion to make these acts seem exciting, interesting and highly ingenious. The camera is more truthful here; and should be, if properly used, a great educational weapon for the deterring of crime.

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A minor point perhaps but pregnant with some significance is the high regard in which the occupants of the lower brackets of officialdom hold the news camera. The gentlemen of the Fourth Estate, whether they know it or not, in recent years have been more and more shoved into the background of the jungle of rubber-necks in order to make room for their rowdier confreres who wield the flashlight guns and bulbs. The firemen, the police and other law officers are decidedly on the side of the camera.

In other classes of our citizenry, however, the good news picture is sometimes unfairly discriminated against through simple faulty reasoning. There is, for example, the matter of the midget on Morgan's lap. It was, of course, in the first place a not very bright trick of a circus press agent. That too at the time was mildly deplored, but when the act was done and the pictures taken, it was upon the cameramen that the unreasoned fury of some members of the Senate Banking Investigating Committee was turned. Word was promptly sent out that any newspaper which dared to print the picture would have its representatives summarily barred from further hearings of the committee. And don't think that many newspapers were not frightened by that threat, and that debate didn't begin immediately in many editorial offices on the momentous question "What to do?" But no one, not even the so quickly outraged Senators, assumed for a moment that there would be no mention of the incident in the news stories. The one thought was "Smash the cameras!" Mr. Morgan's saner viewpoint, which grasped the triviality of the entire incident, prevailed and the picture, for what it was worth, was printed.

Once the mark of a conservative daily was the complete (or nearly complete) absence of pictures. Many factors contributed to the change which has taken place gradually. In some instances it was the success of the "opposition" in the use of news pictures, although this was not the case with the truly conservative press. More important has been the remarkable improvement in news photographs not only in catching the news angle but in incorporating with it striking picturization. And also there admittedly are many instances when a good picture can tell a story better than many words.

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There is every reason to assume at this stage that the new A. T. & T. telephoto process will increase the space devoted to pictures in many American newspapers. And it will do this through the forces of competition and without respect for the wishes of individual publishers. It is potent and it would seem irresistible. It cannot be ignored. And it is for this reason that the decision to adopt it by the central management of the Associated Press caused such strife at the recent annual meeting of the membership of the association in New York.

The Associated Press is a non-dividend, non-stock association, organized for the sole purpose of gathering news and for the exchange of news among its members. The expense for this service is shared by the members, the amount being determined largely by the place in which the member paper is published and by its circulation. But in the case of the new telephoto service only those members which elect to use it are to be assessed.

This would seem to be no burden upon those members not interested in photographic news, but such a quick conclusion overlooks the important factor of competition and the potency of many modern machines to force themselves upon reluctant users through the sheer power of their economic character.

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One example will make this clear. After the membership of the AP had voted confidence in its management in developing the special telephoto service, Captain Joseph Patterson, publisher of the *"New York Daily News,"* announced that he would take the service in New York. There were no other takers among the New York membership. This meant that the *"Daily News"* must pay the total New York City charge, which will be approximately $150,000 a year, exclusive of the cost of a receiving machine which is priced at $16,000. So far, so good. But let us imagine that shortly after the service is started, a city on the Pacific coast is razed by an earthquake. Pictures will be taken and placed on the 10,000 mile wire circuit of the AP. Only those members who have subscribed to the service will be entitled to "copy the picture off the wire." The result? Captain Patterson's paper will be the only one in New York the next morning which will have a photograph of the razed city! Such a thing would in all likelihood happen only once before the clamor would come from the other AP members in New York City to be let in on the service. In that event Captain Patterson's charge would be reduced proportionately. He would not be getting exclusive pictures, but he would be able to use more of them than any rival because his is primarily a picture paper. For creating business this machine apparently cannot be beaten!

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Let us assume that you are running a newspaper in some American city of 100,000 population. You have a rival. You think of yours as the conservative paper. You are losing circulation. Your competitor decides to take the new telephoto service. Even before he puts over a picture beat on you, and thereby spurts his circulation, you decide to plunge. The service will cost you $25,000 a year. You have not been in the habit of using many pictures, and those few purely local shots made by your own photographer. No one is forcing you to use any more, but if you use only a few which come to you over the wire service what you do use will begin to have the paid-for value of old masters. If you are at all economically minded in your business you will find yourself printing more and more and more pictures with perhaps less and less news value in order to justify your investment. Are you being "squeezed" by a machine, or not? Even contrary to your wishes your readers will be forced to get an increasing amount of news by studying pictures.

There is yet one more fly in the ointment. Some of the conservative critics of this remorseless march of a Frankenstein across the news pages of America assert that the telephoto service is being superimposed directly upon a wire service built up exclusively from the needs of news coverage. For example, Washington produces

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more news of national interest than any other city in the country. At the same time it enjoys fewer events capable of dramatic and exciting camera picturization than any other city. Yet the service has been set up primarily for the handling of printable news. The result, it would seem, would be an increase in published form, again through the pressure of economic forces, of more and more uninteresting pictures.

But let us get back to your paper in the nameless American city. The seemingly unavoidable extra expense of $25,000 a year is a heavy fiscal burden—it would be to almost any newspaper. Such a paper as yours even if lavishly strewn with outside news pictures has been costing you only about twenty-five to thirty dollars a week for pictures. The sum of $25,000 a year will purchase the services of quite a few office boys, not a very few able reporters; you can even get a brace of fairly competent editors at this price. It works the other way—in order to meet the charge you may have to fire a few good desk men, dispose of the services of an editorial writer, a cartoonist. Again the situation reverses itself. The dispensing with such services means you will have more white space to fill; what more logical than that you should fill such space with the telephoto pictures which you have paid for anyway?

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Whence came this Frankenstein? Traducers of the Machine Age, given to dangerous over-simplification in their arguments, might be able to spot a culprit, but their argument in all probability would ignore the relentless movement of the force bound up in all engineering research. If research must be done, it must be paid for. Almost all worthwhile research is primarily a search for truth. Whenever a salable bi-product appears, it is naturally placed upon the market in order to produce income to pay for past and even future research work.

The first nationwide demonstration of telephoto was made by the A. T. & T. upon the inauguration of President Coolidge. Many leaders in the "picture game" today assert that that was the most satisfactory demonstration which has ever been made. There is a reason for that. The inventors and developers of the new gadget were extremely anxious to make the best possible impression. It is asserted that the telephone people in their anxiety went to the trouble of "shooing all little birdies off the wires" in the national circuit that day. It is a fact that no operations of any kind were permitted on the lines of the coast-to-coast hook-up during the transmission of the pictures and that all engineering work straight across the country was suspended. No wonder the results were good!

The standards of that inaugural service were never equaled in subsequent work-day operation. Early telephotos were grey-black futuristic blobs that had nothing remarkable to recommend them except that they had come a long way. Editors stopped ordering and using them when they wakened to the fact that even their most unintelligent readers were laughing.

But the telephone company had already made a considerable investment. There was an economic necessity to continue the research, although there was no apparent market for the result. The American public had turned thumbs down, had said in effect, "We wouldn't even like 'em if they were good." But there was that little sum of $2,000,000 already spent. The engineers were sent back into their laboratories. From thence they emerged last summer claiming to have found the solution and presented the new machine—this was the fruit of ten years' work by the Bell Laboratories. And now it must be sold.

Salesmen of the A. T. & T. approached various groups in the news picture field: Hearst's International News Photos, Times Wide World, Acme Pictures. There were no takers. The competitive force inherent in the machine had not yet gotten free. But at last the Associated Press management evinced interest, and the lid of a modern Pandora's box began to open.

It must be kept in mind that the Associated Press is not the only agency engaged in the national distribution of news pictures. By becoming the sole telephoto customer of the A. T. & T., however, it immediately "electrifies" its distribution, leaves its competitors as it were back in the ox-cart days.

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Here obviously is a situation charged with the forces which make for the keenest kind of competition, the seeds possibly of a new picture war. If such a war should develop it would place all emphasis upon speed of distribution, take much of it off the type, character and intrinsic value of pictures, more carefully taken, more slowly handled.

In the event of such a war the telephone company might choose to declare the Associated Press as possessing the sole rights to the new telephoto mechanism. This would avail nothing. There is the Belin machine which could be imported from France, the Sieman telephoto device which could be imported from Germany. The telephone company is a recognized common carrier. It would have to take everyone's business; nor does it seem likely that it would be loath to do this—at a chargeable rate of $56 per wire mile.

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The layman should understand that there exists in the field of news publishing an at least psychological background which would make such a war intensive, exciting and extremely bitter. Whether most news editors know it or not, the emphasis in news value within the editorial offices themselves has been shifting in recent years from the good story to the good picture. The story may arrive ahead of the pictures. If it does, and the story is big enough, the "first pictures" take on a special, even if cock-eyed value. In the case of a choice between a good story and an exclusive picture in most newspaper offices there is no hesitation whatever. Sums are frequently paid for an exclusive picture which no editor in his right mind ever would think of paying for an exclusive story.

Many editors will hire airplanes, motorcycle dispatch riders and even special trains to expedite the transportation of pictures who would never think of doing such a thing to expedite a printable news story. There is, of course, a hard fact reason for this. Intensive competition for exclusive news stories began to disappear with the development of large news gathering agencies, such as the Associated Press, the United Press, the Hearst International News service. Pride remained with many publishers in the credit line *"Special dispatch to, etc.,"* nevertheless as it became increasingly difficult to beat competition in news, the attitude which naturally developed was one of, "Why break a good reporter's neck, the AP will have it any way."

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In the meantime news picture agencies were fighting bitterly and not always fairly to be the first in with a picture. Stories are told of wild and seemingly senseless airplane races, even of sabotaging planes hired by the opposition. This spirit of rivalry has not died down. It is even now on the increase. There is every reason to assume that the new telephoto device will prove to be a new weapon in the war. There is no indication of a quick peace. Some picture agencies will undertake to fight the new machine with older but still high speed methods of transportation. A minor indication of this was seen on the Atlantic seaboard as recently as May 16 last. On that date there appeared on the front page of the early editions of the *"New York Herald Tribune"* a telephoto (old style) of the kidnapped oil man, William F. Gettle, with his family after his rescue. But in the later editions of that same paper the telephoto picture gives way to a more dramatic shot of the liberated oil man being led into the Los Angeles Hall of Justice. The latter picture was brought to New York by airplane.

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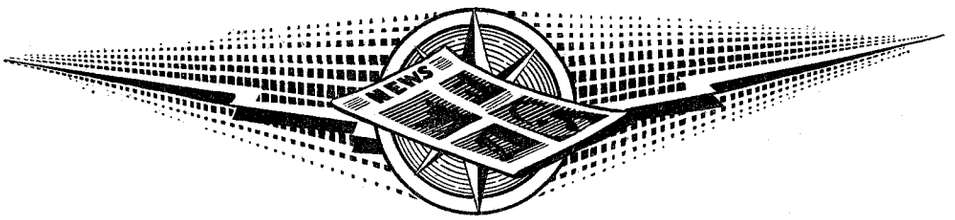
"Did you read the story this morning about . . ?"
"No, but I saw the pictures."

This snatch of the dialogue, quoted before, which is becoming more and more frequent in these United States takes on special significance for the publisher, the business manager and the circulation manager in the developing war of pictures. In its new shading it is not so much an apology as it is a boast, a form of self-flattery intimating that the speaker is a subscriber (we hardly can call him a reader any longer) of a newspaper which is figuratively up on its toes, and is willing to spend money to get the pictures and to get them *first*. A picture which is obviously first and therefore a scoop or beat, is something more than merely a picture. Being this *something more* the editor will be inclined to use it even if he, or his paper are traditionally conservative and opposed to any extensive picturization of news.

There is now, although there need not always be, a definite time lag between the first reporting of a news event and the time when pictures of that event are available for publication. This situation of itself contains the incentive for a faster and ever faster race to get the pictures into print.

There is evidence here that in order to remain as a new force in the picturization of news yet greater speed must be made by the telephoto system. The seemingly senseless demand for this will come first from the publishers using it and who are paying all the way from $10,000 to $100,000 for this service. Considerable engineering thought is already being given to the practicability of using "short wave" to transmit pictures from the scene of the news the instant the picture is taken, in order to avoid the delay now entailed in getting a picture back to a central wire distributing point. It will be a merry war of dollars, speed, daring and technical ingenuity.

The writer was talking recently with a veteran in the news picture game about such a war, where everything obviously would be sacrificed for speed, and the writer asked, "What will you do in the case of such a war?" "Why, I think," he said, "I would go into the picture business."



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Hot Oil—The Test of Proration

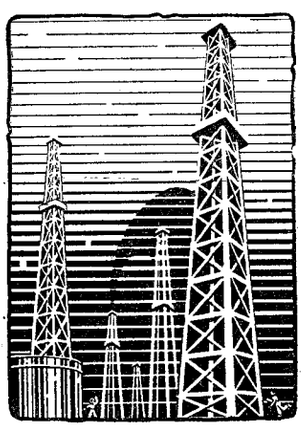
Can proration be made to work as a solution to the difficulties of a surplus economy? The East Texas oil field, the world's largest oil reservoir, has become America's principal laboratory in the testing of this new economic device. To date it has produced only—the world's largest racket.

By William Atherton DuPuy

TEXAS is a large state. There are 262,398 square miles of it. This is exclusive of a strip of Gulf waters three leagues in width adjacent to her coast and between the Rio Grande and the Sabine Rivers, which prideful Texans, boasting somewhat after the California fashion, insist belongs logically within her domain. But with or without the water, Texas is a considerable empire, and her resources, it is latterly coming to be recognized widely, are, in a measure, commensurate with her size. And not the least of her more recently discovered riches is the new east Texas oil field, one of the largest and richest oil deposits in the world.

Texans are coming to grasp the meaning of this huge field and to take pride in it. They boast of the two billion barrels of oil that it is estimated to contain, one fourth of which has been dissipated but three fourths of which remains underground and invites wise handling. It laughs at the "wise" geologists who explored this area once and pronounced it worthless and glories in "Dad" Joiner, old-fashioned wildcatter, who pecked away at it and made the discovery.

Even the man on the street is learning to explain the geology of it, the manner in which two impervious strata of rock with a layer of sand between them climbed an ancient geological beach, now buried 3,600 feet underground. The strata finally came together, pinching out the sand. In doing so there was created an oil-tight, gas-tight trap that caught the bubbles that came up from below. These bubbles carried the makings of oil. They were captured, compressed and stored through the ages in the cavities provided by the intervening layer of sand. It was the biggest such trap that man has yet found with all his prodding into the earth's surface.



It is not surprising that this big thing, possessed of typical Texan bigness and richness, should contain within its make-up factors potent to the creation of one of the world's largest rackets— the racket of hot oil. But it is not alone for the conditions of "the biggest this," and the "biggest that" that Texas and her gargantuan oil bonanza can claim any continuous outside interest. Her good fortune is decidedly *her* good fortune. It is most worthwhile, however, to study this unexampled and one more largess of Nature because it has been delivered into the hands of men just at a time when men in general, particularly those of an economic turn of mind, are deciding that one of our fundamental misfortunes is that Nature is altogether too generous, that we have already more than we can distribute and consume under the only working plan of distribution and consumption which we have. It is for this reason that the world's largest and richest oil field is becoming the battlefield of the neo-economic plan of proration. A world's "largest" has become a microscopic laboratory for the working out of one of the profounder theories of the New Day. To date within the laboratory human nature has acted as human nature always does. The result: racketeering which for ingenuity and sums involved dwarfs any of the ingenuity of circumvention of that other "ideal experiment": prohibition.

The reaction of both the interested and the disinterested in the process of government-supervised proration in this unique laboratory now has been going on long enough to provide some basic evidence. That many of the interested individuals do not want it is clearly shown by their ingenuity in circumventing the plan. This is by no means the general feeling. To yield the best results it is coming to be understood by many that this great underground reservoir of oil must be produced slowly. So produced, the water wall at the open end of the trap will seep through the sand and advance slowly. But where wells are turned on and allowed to flow full blast, they will suck in strong streams of water, cut channels through the sand and completely spoil the wells. This already has happened at certain places.

But on top of all this Texas takes a sort of pride in her hot oil racket. She likes the idea of doing things in a large way and thinks that, perhaps, her venture into lawlessness for profit has topped all others in magnitude. For every day in 1933, according to the Railroad Commission of Texas estimates, 100,000 barrels of hot or bootleg oil was run. This would pile up a total of 36,500,000 barrels for the year, every barrel worth a dollar. Texas wonders if any other racket anywhere can show an equal return.

There are 5,446,925 people living in Texas, according to the latest census. One of these we shall name Tecumseh

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Jones. Once upon a time this Jones owned a little filling station alongside the road to Houston. Often when the gasoline went rattling through the hose which he was handling he fell to dreaming. To him it became the rush of limitless oil up from his own mad wells. In fancy he was given to tapping one or another of those mysterious pools that an early world had tucked away like unbelievable Pandora boxes just to show how lavishly it might reward certain among those strange man creatures who later were to evolve.

Because of his vision, Tecumseh's saving went to "wildcatters" who sunk wells haphazardly, in defiance of the advice of men of science, here and there, and distributed small tracts to those who helped finance them. Then the miracle finally happened, and now the dreamer owns a well, finished and capped, in the middle of the East Texas oil field which sat over the richest deposit as yet uncovered.

It had cost him $9,900 to drill his well 3,600 feet deep through easy formations and finally to puncture the chalk cap that held back the oil. Yet he had known before he started what the result would be. In the proven area of this marvel field, thirty-six miles long, five miles wide on the average, shaped like a Christmas stocking, or the map of Italy, there was no failure. When the wells came in they were docile beyond compare. They were given to flowing some 15,000 barrels a day under control as mild as water in the bathroom. And crude then was worth $1 a barrel.

But here appeared a beneficent government which set up the contention that too much oil was being produced, and decreed that the output should be allocated among the states, the fields, the very wells, of the nation. Its edict permeated through infinite red tape and finally reached Tecumseh Jones himself. It stated that this gentleman might flow from his 15,000-barrel well each day an amount of oil that was equal to one fifth of its possible yield for a single hour. Figuring with a lead pencil showed that this amounted to just thirty-one and a quarter barrels. "Government interference" thus reduced his possible daily income from $15,000 to $31.25! It locked and sealed his well and measured his daily allowable run into a tank.

Now Tecumshe was an individualist. He thought that he had a right to do as he chose with his own property, pointed to the fact that well owners ahead of him up to this very moment had produced as they saw fit. And he was not at all interested in theoretical national aspects of the oil situation. He went into the cellar about his well, cut a hole through its casing, attached a pipe thereto which he buried deeply and secretly and which led away to a nearby "independent" refinery. Through this pipe he sold 1,000 barrels of unmeasured oil a day at 50 cents a barrel, half the market price, and by so doing came to live in a brownstone house attended by four Negro servants. It was HOT OIL. Tecumseh was pioneering in a brand new racket.

Then there is another citizen of Texas whom we shall name Dominick Jordan, who had been a house builder in a nearby town. He had a scheme that was a little more elaborate. He had three wells that fed into the same measuring tank. From the three he was allowed to produce 100 barrels a day which regularly were gauged by the authorities. But Jordan, when he built his tank, exercised both foresight and ingenuity. He had arranged an outlet from the centre of its broad bottom from which he had run a deep-buried pipe, evidence of the existence of which nowhere was to be found. This pipe had cut across the solitary red hills and piney woods of this recently rural community for a distance of a mile. In the hurly-burly of the oil madness nobody paid any attention to it. Organized enforcement had hardly been born then. At three places in his pipe line he attached branches, each of which led to one of those "pan and pot" refineries which had begun to cluster about the field to fatten on its illegitimate output. At the end of the line sat two storage tanks, unobtrusively rusty and securely locked. They were private property and long resisted inspection.

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When the valve from Jordan's well was opened that he might draw off his allowable oil into his measuring tank, the level of that vessel, because of the leak from the bottom, rose very slowly. He might in secret run unmeasured oil through it. Undetermined quantities went on to either of the three refineries or to storage. Jordan had thus set up a "by pass" through which 5,000 barrels of hot oil a day for a period of two years may have flowed. At half the legitimate price it would have brought him more than $1,000,000.

A dozen of the big companies operate in this richest oil field in the world and have pipelines which carry crude to Houston, Beaumont, Port Arthur and other gates into the markets of the world. They are common carriers and must transport oil for the little fellows as well as for themselves. They are carefully checked and, because of the circumstances under which they operate, there is little opportunity for them to be other than honest. Each of them constructs gathering systems which reach throughout the field. Their lines alone constitute a network difficult to follow or trace. In addition there are the lines of the various refineries, recovery plants, and such, some of which are legitimate and many of which are mere blinds for running hot oil. Then there may be various types of pipeline system established for specific purposes. All have grown "topsy-like" and nobody has the key to their ownership.

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The railroads, for example, have established sixty or seventy loading stations for the convenience of shippers at various points about the field. The railroads are required to accept freight for shipment when tendered and it is none of their business to go back of the shipper and ascertain its source. The owner of a few wells might build himself a gathering system that centered at one of these loading stations. Two wells easily might load 100 tank cars of 240 barrels each in a day.

One bright afternoon Captain E. N. Stanley, chief investigator for the Texas Railroad Commission, which is in charge of proration enforcement, received a tip that cars were loading at a certain station with oil from an unknown source. A certain well owner was suspected. Captain Stanley sent one of his men in a roundabout way to the loading station and himself descended on the well. The

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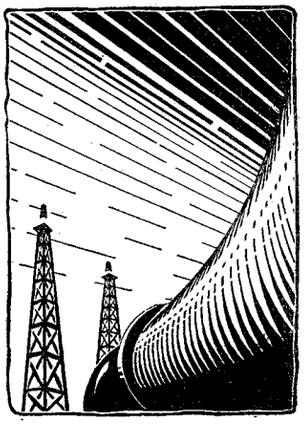

owner, at the time of his appearance, was some distance from the well and started for it on the run. The officer beat him to it, however, and found it flowing full blast. The pipe system was buried but the connection was established by turning the well off and on and noting the response at the other end. Captain Stanley has evidence of the passing of 184,000 barrels of hot oil by this method in one day alone.

On July 12, 1933, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation aimed at this abuse, forbidding the acceptance for interstate shipment of crude oil that was not shown to have been produced under the regulations. Federal courts, however, granted injunctions that left Federal enforcement officers helpless. The shipments of the products of crude oil continued. Makeshift refineries might work hot oil over a bit and then ship it as refined products.

These refineries were mostly "skimming" plants. They gave the crude a rudimentary treatment through the application of heat. Raise its temperature to a certain point and gasoline is boiled off. Make it a little hotter and naptha results, then kerosene, and so on. These products may require further refinement and the residue that is left may be burned as fuel oil, or be shipped to a "cracking" plant. But there is no effective obstacle in the way of interstate shipment of these products. So it becomes profitable to run hot oil through these makeshift plants and ship it elsewhere for further refinement.

Before it is disposed of the shipper must make an affidavit that it is "to the best of his belief" from legitimate sources. This oath might prove a bit embarrassing to the refiner who had bought it direct from a "hot" producer. But a hot oil racketeer can easily circumvent this. He purchases these semi-refined products from many a fly-by-night refiner. He is in reality a fence of a sort, dealing in a new kind of stolen goods. But if accused he assumes the role of innocent purchaser and claims that "to the best of his knowledge and belief" these products were from legitimate sources. Law enforcement in this new criminal world is as yet so uncertain that it is more practical to busy itself with prosecutions for violations that are more "flagrant" than these.

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But the racketeer need not, nor does not, stop with this. His own refinery, usually a hideous, greasy group of mushroom buildings in such a place as Gladewater, hottest spot in the field, stringtown of shacks in a sea of spilt oil, remains his home and his castle to which he can refuse admission to any authority on earth. What there is beneath it in the way of a pipe network carrying hot oil nobody could know. The riddle of its maze probably would be almost beyond solution even if the state established the authority it sought of entry and search. But in the meantime it might take samples of the products that the racketeer was loading into the half-mile-long string of tank cars on a nearby siding. It does so. Their contents turn out to be not even so respectable a product as the semi-refined output of the small fry establishments he served. It is straight crude. Beneath his plant, obviously, he has a "by pass" for oil direct from the wells. He loads it in tank cars under the false claim that it is a refined product and so ships it interstate, or wherever he choses.

Then there are owners of plants that recover gasoline from the gas that comes out with the oil. They must have pipeline gathering systems through the field to bring the gas to their plants. Some of them are honest and use their lines for gas alone. Some of them, with their lines running past millions of gallons of shut-in production, panting for release, have been thinking all the time of the convenience of so intimate a "tie in."

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Such a one, his name is legion, has been discovered who put in a pipeline that looked rather more ambitious than the size of his plant warranted. An enforcement agent, watching it, found one day that it had sprung a leak where it crossed a stream. A geyser, not of gas but of black oil, was discovered spouting from it, thus revealing the actual purpose for which it was laid.

Even bolder is the reclamation plant racket. These establishments begin by gathering up the oil-soaked dregs that accumulate in tank bottoms and getting what they can out of them. When pools gather from wells that have accidentally flooded or tanks that have run over, they gather up the oil and reclaim it. They throw dams across stream beds and skim this "fugitive" oil off of the lakes that accumulate. They might be classed as oil junk men and their business made a legitimate and reasonably profitable one.

But there appears here yet another type of racketeer who, like the product he handles, is scum. He makes a deal with a man above him to overflow his tank. The oil goes into the stream and Joe skims it off. It is almost as good as a pipeline. Trucks back up to Joe's reservoir at night, set pumps to work and suck their bodies full.

This racketeer's stream has a certain drainage basin. Whatever gets loose in that area is grist (or grease) to his mill. And the man knows that acid will eat holes in pipes. Applying it judiciously he soon has a flood of oil spouting from what appears to be a mere rusted out pipe. It is not long before he is recovering 1,000 barrels a day and selling it to the legitimate pipe lines for 85 cents a barrel. Others like him have long since smelled the profit and have gotten into the game. So it comes to pass that there are forty reclamation plants in operation, mostly based upon a theft of oil.

The legitimate wells of the east Texas field are sealed and the tanks gauged by representatives of the Texas Railroad Commission with a staff of fifty people to watch an area thirty-six miles long and containing 13,000 openings to shut in an immeasurable wealth. Numerous are the devices for their deception. One, for example, is a left-handed valve. An arrow points to the right and beyond its tip is the legend, "Off." That is the direction in which a wheel ordinarily turns to shut a valve. But if one of the left-handed type can be surreptitiously installed it may be locked and sealed in the position that indicates no flow of oil while the well actually is running all the time. Or a reciprocating pump may be placed on a line and may stand there, seemingly idle against the time when it will

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be required to kick the load along. But if this pump is carefully examined it turns out to have no insides and to be in fact but a device for "by passing" oil. More daring still are the dummy wells. There was one racketeer, for example, who had one perfectly good well sunk into the Woodbine sand able to deliver 20,000 barrels a day. From it he ran hidden pipes to three other points on his lease. At those points he set up what appeared to be other wells just like his first one. Turn them on, and they would flow as it did. This racketeer asked for an allocation for four wells instead of one, and for a while measured the flow of four into his tank and sold it to a pipe line company.

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Hot oil is a new racket under the sun and the east Texas field is its stronghold. Laws and regulations for its control have been developing only slowly through the two or three years of its existence. At first public opinion gave them a quite lukewarm support, inclining to the theory that a man had a right to handle his own property as he saw fit. Injunctions against enforcement were easy, convictions for violations difficult and indefinite delays through court action always possible. Flagrant and open violations were to be found on every side. The machinery for combating them had not been adequately developed. So great was the unrestrained output of this field that it drove down the oil price of the nation and threatened the well being of the entire industry. Oil in adjacent areas went as low as 10 cents for a 42-gallon barrel. The Governor of Texas sent the militia into the field and for a time shut off all its production. The Federal authorities had their try at enforcement, but Federal court injunctions tied their hands. By and large it has rested with the state's Railroad Commission.

But the spirit of flagrant violation lives on. There were the Morrisons, for example, bold and two-fisted individualists who announced openly that they were running hot oil and intended to continue to do so. They defied the authorities to stop them. They met every move in that direction head on through the courts which were themselves floundering in a field that had established no precedents. Injunction after injunction was in some way broken down.

Presently the Morrisons had this sort of set-up: they owned twenty-five producing wells capable of delivering 250,000 barrels of oil worth $250,000 a day. Under the regulations they were allowed to produce a mere 1,000 barrels. This they did produce and did turn decorously into a legitimate pipe line system. But they interwove among their wells a system of pipe lines the operation of which was their own secret. Here and there they built, bought, or leased storage tanks. Near by they set up a refinery, one of the best in the field. All this tied into their potential 250,000 barrels a day production. It constituted a literal underground empire. Records of oil shipped in tank cars in single months, procured from the railroads, showed that 200,000 barrels often went out under their consigning. The whole story is not procurable, but there is little doubt that they have disposed of "hot oil" that runs into the millions. They are still operating openly, boldly, defiantly. They are fighting every inch of the way against proration enforcement. It looks as though the authorities were closing in upon them. In the end they may be defeated, may pay prodigious fines, may even go to jail. Then again they may not. They are bold spirits and willing to take their chances.

There are a dozen big companies operating in this great field which could swallow up a dozen of the most ambitious of its predecessors in Texas, Oklahoma and California. These companies have pipelines which run to deep water on the Gulf 250 miles away which ties them into the world market. By and large they operate honestly, carry no hot oil, coöperate with the authorities toward proration enforcement.

Yet there is no doubt that they chafe as do honest independents under the admitted fact that the hot oil operators are depleting the field, are tending to exhaust the pressure that causes their wells to flow, are actually drawing the fluid of wealth from beneath their properties, are depressing prices by selling their refined products under the market.

On March 2, 1933, one of the big companies, whose name is known throughout the country, burst into open defiance. It was three o'clock in the morning and it just happened that investigators for the Texas Railroad Commission were returning from the capture redhanded in the sudden flare of a pocket flashlight of a well owner who, in the hours of darkness, was filling six waiting tank trucks with illegitimate oil. These enforcement officers were trudging on foot across a one-time cotton patch, long abandoned to oil derricks. By chance they stumbled upon the most spectacular awakening by night that the sleeping dragon of "hot oil" has ever experienced.

It must be explained that, when a well is producing oil that is destined for entry into legitimate trade, the first step of its progress must be through a separator that takes the gas out of it. The gas must be burned or it may settle to the ground and explode with the casual lighting of a match. Several fatal tragedies in the field have come about in just this way.

So, a pipe carrying this gas fifteen or twenty feet above the ground is connected with each well. When oil is started through the separator and consequently gas through this exhaust pipe, a ball of saturated and ignited waste is thrown up to the pipe outlet and ignites a flare that leaps redly high above it. Thus a field producing at night becomes a blaze of huge torches lashing like devils' tails into the vast darkness.

On this particular night, as the enforcement men floundered across the cotton field, it, of a sudden, came to vivid life. From the ground in a hundred places fireballs began to leap into the air and in response to each a high-reaching flare came to life. To right, left, all about, they whipped the darkness into retreat. They covered an area a mile wide. Knowing the field as these officers did they realized that this large major company, owning 450 wells, tying as they did into master pipe lines leading out of the field, had sprung suddenly into illicit production. They knew that enforcement was face to face with its greatest defiance. They knew that this resistance must be met promptly and effectively or the other major companies would follow suit.

In an hour fifty investigators were in the field making records and affidavits of the violation of individual wells.

It was shown that 180,000 barrels above allowable production had flowed from these wells and into storage. The producer was able, through the courts, still uncertain as to enforcement law and without precedent, to secure release for this oil, to escape punishment for its violation, and to profit from its venture in defiance.

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"Right" Price, What Is It?

Lack of plan and central control created a maelstrom of confusion when NRA undertook price control. The writer, an industrial consulting engineer since 1908 and author of "Pricing for Profit," in outlining here a new plan for price control, shows that in 20 typical codes 15 different pricing methods were used!

By W. L. Churchill

FIVE years ago, it was the fervent wish of virtually every American that the prices of those things which we wanted to buy should go down.

This wish was granted.

In an almost miraculous manner, the towering structure of the High Cost of Living suddenly collapsed, and the prices of practically every commodity and service we desired dropped to levels unknown in our generation.

As all of us are consumers and, as such, are interested in low prices, this state of affairs should have pleased us very much.

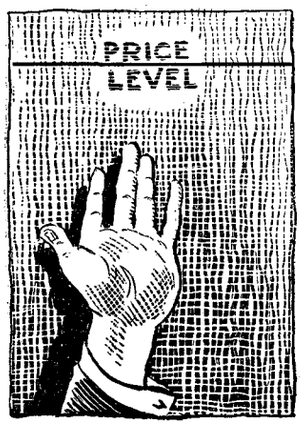
But it didn't. Instead of easing our lives, it made the problem of living vastly more difficult and complicated. We suddenly discovered that we were not only consumers but that most of us were producers as well, and that as such, we had little reason to be happy about low prices. In fact, because prices were low, many of us lost our jobs, many more had our income drastically reduced, and still more saw the savings of a lifetime swept away.

Like the aged couple in the well-known fairy tale, we found we had wished for something that we did not want when we got it.

So we wished again, this time even more earnestly than before; and this time our wish was that we might be permitted to take counsel together to find some way whereby prices could be put back to somewhere near their previous level.

This wish, too, was granted.

Since we Americans are supposed to be intelligent, resourceful, and competent, it was to be expected that when given this golden opportunity we would have gathered our business leaders and economists together and prepared some comprehensive, logical and practical plan for taking advantage of it. But what was the result?



Hundreds of industries have prepared, and have had accepted in Washington, codes containing some form of provision for price control. In a study entitled "Price Control Devices in NRA Codes," conducted under the auspices of the Brookings Institute, George Terborgh has analyzed these devices and has shown that instead of an enlightened approach to this vitally important subject there is confusion worse confounded.

So intricately varied are the details of the various pricing arrangements, it is an almost hopeless task even to attempt to classify them.

For example, many codes prohibit the selling of products below the "cost of production," but many of these codes fail to specify what is meant by this very ambiguous term, and in 20 codes that do, there are 15 different definitions! To give the extreme cases, "cost of production" in one code includes only materials and direct labor, while in another code it includes also overhead, factory burden, administrative expense, depreciation, shipping expense, selling expense, taxes and insurance, interest, depreciation and obsolescence.

Again, some codes say minimum prices shall be "fair and reasonable," others that they shall equal the "weighted average cost of production," others that they shall "equal the cost of the lowest-cost representative firm," still others that they shall be "compensatory," and so on *ad infinitum*.

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Says Mr. Terborgh, in summarizing his findings, ". . . there seems little indication that the NRA, in the course of considering and approving the codes reviewed here, applied any clear-cut principles or standards of public policy in the matter of price control. A comparison of proposed and approved codes shows a number of instances in which a device was approved for some industries and denied to others of similar character. This apparent lack of consistency may be explainable by the haste of the codifying process, the confusion which accompanied it, . . . and the bargaining character of the process. Regardless of the explanation, the problem remains of developing some reasonably consistent criteria of public policy in the matter of price control . . ."

This lack of any evidence of agreement as to the manner in which the price problem should be solved is incontrovertible evidence that we don't know very much about the subject. If we received the same diversity of suggestions from the physicians of the country as to the treatment of a case of pernicious anemia, we would have a very poor opinion of the medical profession.

In other words, again like the old couple in the fairy story, we are, through our ignorance, frittering away a gift from the powers that be.

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One of the reasons for the haziness of our understanding of prices is that we habitually use erroneous pricing methods.

For example, the manufacturer of a product composed chiefly of rubber priced his goods in accordance with a formula that is widely used and appears in a number of the NRA codes: that is to say, he calculated the cost of the material and the labor used in production of each item and then multiplied this "cost" by an "overhead" factor. The result was a series of prices which, he believed, would ensure him a satisfactory profit on his goods.

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This formula worked very well a decade or so ago when he introduced it, *for at that time rubber was* 70 *cents a pound.* Then the price of rubber began to fall. His prices decreased likewise, and so, also, did his profits. Finally rubber hit six cents a pound, and the manufacturer went into the receiver's hands.

This represents a very common, and indeed almost universal, pricing fallacy. For some reason or other, manufacturers are prone to base their cost, profit and pricing structures on the cost of materials which they purchase, and not on the only logical foundation, which is the service they themselves render, or, in other words, the value that they add to the materials.

This illogical practice has consequences that are economically vicious.

As in the case of the manufacturer mentioned above, it often places the fate of the company, together with the welfare of the workers and stockholders, at the mercy of a factor which is of no real concern to the manufacturer. An industry should stand or fall because it is either efficient or inefficient, not because of changes in the price of purchased materials.

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A manufacturer, who specialized in gold jewelry, worked out a satisfactory price formula for his products and then, later, added gold-filled and platinum items to his lines. Now it is evident that if a manufacturer can sell gold products profitably, there is no reason why he should not do the same for goods of other metals. But his price formula was based on the cost of materials, and in consequence, it made the price of his platinum line so high that he could not sell it in competition with manufacturers specializing in platinum, while the prices of his filled goods were so low that they sold like the proverbial hot cakes. As he actually lost money on this line without being aware of the fact, he eventually found himself deeply in the red. The insidious effects of this same pricing fallacy has destroyed many a fine, old enterprise.

Of course, many industrial managers realize this danger, but their reaction to it is very apt to be wholly unsound in principle; they become speculators in their raw materials and spend more time watching the commodity markets than they do in the actual operation of their factories. Such men, in simple justice to their employees and stockholders, should cease managing factories and frankly become commodity speculators.

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Next, consider the effect that this practice has upon the prices of goods to the consumer. The manufacturer augments the cost of the materials several times to find his price to the wholesaler. The wholesaler augments this price to find his price to the retailer. The retailer does likewise, and the transportation company aids by charging for its service largely on the basis of the price of the goods transported. The result is that goods made of materials above the average in quality are almost always priced far above the level they need be in order to provide adequate returns to all those engaged in their production and distribution. This limits their sales and forces the larger part of the public to content themselves with goods of inferior quality. We all want good things, but many of us are debarred from enjoying them because of a peculiarly perverted and almost universally used method of pricing.

Here are just a few examples, taken from some of the writer's pricing surveys, of high quality goods over-priced because of the use of the cost of materials as the basis for determining cost of production and prices.

	Price Asked	*"Right" Prices*
Air conditioner	$898.50	$798.20
Gas Furnace	195.00	170.00
Roofing	1.47	.70
Strawberry Jam	20.68	18.32
Salad Dressing	7.41	5.82
Bathroom Fixture	890.00	356.00
Women's Garment	72.00	46.50
Carving Set	7.50	5.00

These are all prices to retailers, who in turn augment them, thus increasing the price excesses. The list could be extended indefinitely, but the situation can be summed up by the writer's experience that virtually every manufacturer overprices his high quality lines, thereby limiting their sales and the ultimate profits.

There is a simple remedy for all this. Base the cost and profit structure on the cost of the services actually rendered by producer and distributor, and add in the cost of materials as of day of shipment merely to set the final price. When this is done, changes in the prices of materials cease to affect anything except the final price to the consumer, and he pays for the materials only once. A number of businesses are now using this method of price determination, but as far as the writer knows, there is only one instance in all the codes where this principle is recognized.

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Equally serious errors are introduced at other points in pricing structures developed by accounting methods. The truth of the matter is that the "right" prices that should be charged for goods and services can no more be found by means of any bookkeeping methods than the distances of stars can be measured by the unaided human eye. In either case the instrumentality is inadequate. And just as we had to remain in ignorance of stellar distances until proper telescopes were developed, so we have had to get along somehow with inaccurate conceptions about prices until a suitable technological procedure was developed for their determination.

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This scientific approach to the pricing problem is of recent origin, but it promises to play an ever increasing part in stabilizing business.

Coming back to the codes, it is evident from Mr. Terborgh's analysis that American business has no idea of a definite price standard and believes that prices are somewhat like the weather—something that favors us one day and injures us the next, but is beyond our control at all times.

This is a very curious illusion for there is a very definite basis for prices.

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When an article is sold at the "right" price, both parties to the transaction have received full value. The seller one receives an amount which enables him to recompense justly everyone who in any way rendered a necessary service in the production and the distribution of the article. The buyer, on his part, has paid for nothing but these services, or, in other words, has exchanged his own services (as represented by his money) on an equitable basis for the services of others. It is now a simple task to determine this "right" price for any product (or service) in production or being planned.

If all goods and services sold in this country today were sold at their "right" prices, all properly and efficiently managed businesses, when operated at their normal capacity, would be assured of sufficient returns to insure their perpetuation and normal progress. They would not have to reduce wages or salaries or cut dividends, and would, therefore, not pass on losses in normal buying power to affect other businesses adversely. Consumers would not be called upon to contribute to inflated profits anywhere along the line or to bear the burden of useless or idle investments or of someone's errors of judgment. They would miss, it is true, some of the "bargains" they can now secure in cheap, trashy goods (and which are not bargains because someone somwhere is suffering a loss on their account) but in return they would be able to purchase goods of desirable quality at much lower prices.

Exploitation of others by those in dominant positions would have to cease, the standard of living would tend to rise, depressions would be minimized and the extravagances of boom periods suppressed.

There is no practical difficulty in the way of applying "right" price principles to almost all products manufactured or services rendered in this country. It is less easy to apply them to the extractive industries and to agriculture. These industries would, however, benefit first by a wider and more stable domestic market for their products and a saner method of pricing their supplies.

The use of "right" prices does not imply price fixing. Price fixing is an utterly impracticable procedure. In the first place, it is impossible to fix the price of any single class of goods or services, because everything has its competitors, and, therefore, if price fixing is to succeed at all, it must be applied to every single thing sold in the country. To administer such a system successfully would be physically and financially impossible, and in consequence, just as happened under prohibition, bootlegging would promptly render the whole scheme nugatory.

"Right pricing," on the other hand, merely determines the price at which a product produced under certain specific conditions should be sold. Should the conditions change, the price must change. Generally speaking, "right" prices are substantially the same for all comparable goods made by comparable equipment, and, therefore, they form a practicable pricing basis for the use of trade associations, but any gain in efficiency due to improved processes would mean lower "right" prices so that the consumer would immediately receive the benefit. On the other hand, abnormally low production costs on the part of a given producer, due to superior management, benefit that producer alone, and eventually result in increased rewards to the management, workers and stockholders of that organization.

The inevitable tendency on the part of an organization using "right" price principles is to push those items which that organization can produce most efficiently and to decrease the production of those items which other organizations can produce more efficiently.

A simple example will illustrate the workings of this principle. In a given community, there were two steel construction companies. Both competed actively for all construction business within their territory, and both were losing money. A pricing survey showed that one company was better equipped to handle heavy work than its competitor and lost money whenever it took on small, light jobs. With the other company, the reverse was true—it made money on the small jobs and lost on large ones. Both adopted "right" prices, which meant that the first company had to charge more than the second company for small work, and therefore lost a majority of this class of business to its competitor. The second company, for precisely the same reasons, had to charge more than its competitor for heavy work. The result was each company tended to specialize in the class of work for which it was best adapted, and in the long run both changed their losses into profits.

In effect, the price control provisions in the various codes are devices designed to prevent certain member organizations from burglarizing the business of other members. Hundreds—yes thousands—of committees, commissions and authorities are meeting daily to discuss, frame, modify and enforce these provisions. At a fraction of this expenditure of time, effort and money, all American industries could be placed on a "right" price basis which would assure them continuous and progressive development, provide just compensation to their workers and investors and make for a greater stability of all business.

The story is told by a traveler of the medical methods pursued by the natives of a remote Asiatic country. Though a graduate German physician is living in the district, they prefer when one of their number becomes ill to place the sufferer on a stretcher and carry him out into the street where passers-by are asked for their opinions as to the cause of his illness and the method of treatment.

Industrial groups are acting in much the same fashion. They are carrying their sick industries to Washington where relatives, friends, lawyers, soldiers and many others are asked to prescribe for their pricing ills. But as Mr. Terborgh points out, "the problem remains of developing some consistent criteria of public policy in the matter of price control."

Such criteria, fully developed and readily applied, are provided by the scientific concept of standard, or "right" prices. Through the NRA, we still have an opportunity to rid industrial pricing of its inconsistencies and errors and to place it on a positive and definite basis.

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The Underground Stream of the '30's

Eras are frequently identifiable by the chief problem of the greatest number of people. It becomes the hidden underground stream, which carries the principal force for change in the period in which it flows. Mr. Fowler, in the light of present evidence, discusses this main stream of the '30's.

By Cedric Fowler

TODAY'S word for the universal problem is "Government." We used to have other ones, but they have been pushed out; today they belong in dead languages. Ages ago—back in the 1920's—it was "Peace." Then it was "Universal Disarmament." For a brief moment it was "Prosperity" and a lovely thing called the "New Era." Now the sacred word is "Government." The citizen thinks, acts and feels with it; he has become an island entirely surrounded by state authority. It is to be the formula for all his troubles, social, economic, and, for the more naïve, emotional.

Most of the citizens in the world have accepted the prescription; remarkably few are challenging its potency. In Europe and Asia, four hundred million of them have agreed to the medicine in its extreme form—dictatorship. In Russia and a large part of China, two hundred and twenty million have accepted Communism; in Europe, one hundred and eighty million have taken Fascism. The rest of the world is watching a battle between liberal democracy and the tighter forms of authority, with the betting heavily on the latter. The gentler methods of rule are losing out —and, almost everywhere, with the consent of the majority of the people involved. Bewildered by the complexity of its ailments, society is turning itself over docilely to the power that will rule, and rule hard. Wherever we may chose to look, in the Orient or in the Occidental world, we find people today concerned as they never have been concerned before, with the problem of how they ought to be governed.

The chief social struggle is, at present, between two different kinds of the same swing to hard rule, a struggle between two varieties of dictatorship. The dream of perfect liberty has been abandoned. The quickest look at post-war Europe will show how unreluctantly even comparative freedom has been thrown away. In Italy, Fascism fought with a threatened Socialism for the same extent of control, the difference lying in direction, not in degree.

The Central Powers have done the same. Hungary quickly accepted a White dictatorship in place of Communism, not because it feared Bolshevik discipline as discipline, but because it wanted Right Wing authority rather than Left. Turkey, in the attempt to recover from ten years of war, submitted to dictatorship without a tremor of opposition. German liberal democracy fought a fourteen year battle with dictatorship, democracy under attack from all contending sides. Austria is the latest recruit to Fascism, with Social Democracy pushed under the sod. Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria have long had dictatorships. Rumania struggles with Fascism and the one man rule of King Carol.

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In fact, the few European countries left without dictatorship seem anxious to acquire it as rapidly as possible. France, long considered the bulwark of democratic forms, is beginning to think Fascism desirable—the opposition coming from Left Wing groups who aim at Socialist rule. Spain is liquidating her liberal democracy in favor of a stronger Right Wing variety of control. Ireland, traditional home of liberty lovers, has settled down to a fight between two absolutists, de Valera and his rival, O'Duffy of the Blue Shirts. The Prime Minister of Canada recently remarked that Adolf Hitler was an excellent model for controlling rebellious labor, and opposed to him the new Socialist party proposes a dictatorship of its own type. Even in Great Britain, Sir Oswald Moseley's Blackshirts are now given a respectful hearing, "un-English" as their proposals may sound.

The Central and South American states seem about to relinquish the old habits of governmental chaos in favor of a stricter and more settled regime. Mexico's revolution brought state control into almost every phase of national life. Gomez, veteran of all dictators, extended his authority over every Venezuelan, and the underground movement that hopes to replace him will maintain as strict a social discipline, though its ends are different. Cuba has been undergoing a violent struggle between Left and Right Wing forces, with a Socialist dictatorship seeking to replace the merchants and landowners now in power. Chile has a strong Socialist movement under Colonel Grove, who plans a firm dictatorship for the nation. In the Far East, Japan claims that China is not a state in the sense of possessing an authoritative government, and has been introducing Japanese order into Manchuria, where the newly formed empire is consolidating complete rule over thirty million people.

The drive for the extension of government power has

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been universal. It has manifested itself in more than the obviously political ways—in all social and cultural directions. Culturally, it has replaced much of the aesthetic drive of former years. Very few books today ignore the question of man's social and political environment, so few that a reviewer asks H. L. Mencken (and by inference all other writers guilty of his omissions) just what he means by writing a book these days on morals when he would be much better employed, "on the insoluble problems of government, for example." An occasional lapse into the novel of nostalgic romance is branded as escape literature, primarily for those incapable of facing the world of reality. Art emerges as propaganda, expounding social and political issues. Under a dictatorship, of course, government domination in cultural work is complete. Books, plays, painting, theatre and movies are seized by the successful faction and put to immediate political service. Some dictatorships make the cultural task harder than others; in Germany, for example, it is hard to publish a work that omits any of the Nazi slogans. And backward CWA artists still clinging to more pictorial art have trouble getting their work by Messrs. Tugwell and Wallace.

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In brief, the matter of government is no longer the privilege of the politicians. The ordinary citizen has made it his concern. He has called on government to solve problems he no longer feels strong enough to undertake himself. Today he lives in a world that is on its way to surrendering the whole of private initiative. Labor-capital relations are almost wholly under control, the difference in emphasis depending on the color of the dictatorship. Relations between consumer and producer are increasingly regulated. Capital itself is in danger of control in its methods of investment. Unemployment relief and welfare —social work in general—are coming under government supervision. In the more strictly governed nations, none of the professions has been left untouched. The people of the world have determined that state authority over the whole of their organized life is an absolute necessity.

Government has not only extended its authority, it has consolidated it at the same time, by centralization. Power has been packed into more concentrated units. Greater efficiency has been one reason for this development, closer control by the governing party, another. Early theories favored diffusion into small local units. The ideal was to keep the stronger Federal power at a distance in order to minimize the chances for oppression. But as the day passes when a man's only direct contact was through periodic visits of the postman, "Government" becomes a thought in the forefront of every man's mind.

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It will not be a period of "easy" thinking. In some instances the apparently inevitable centralization is contrary both to the historic principle and theory, and to the wish as well. The United States is an excellent example of departure from earlier ideas. Curiously enough, the party of Thomas Jefferson is the one seeking to carry out the drive for centralization. The Administration today functions over the entire country, and functions almost wholly from Washington, where the vocabulary of Federal power amounts to a new language.

Russia's experience with a planned society again shows how essential centralization is and how it must occur under the pressure of economic forces which have no regard for original theory. Revolutionary Communism promised diffusion of power. The organization of the party in cells was based in part on the wish to spread authority. The Civil War and the wars of intervention, fought in widely separated parts of the country, tended to build up local power. The Soviets' prompt and full recognition of national minorities fostered local autonomy. The federal system provides for the entrance of any unit that may desire to join the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, wherever it may be located. Today the U.S.S.R. consists of some twenty republics, and the word Russia does not appear in the title. As designed by Lenin and his fellow workers, the first Communist state was to be an organization of fully autonomous units, with the Third International at the top in an advisory capacity, rather than a capital unit that would dictate every move and direction in the governing localities. The memory of Tsarism, that had practised the most corrupt and tyrannous forms of centralization, was strong.

But when the Communists began to industrialize Russia, they found that strong central rule was unavoidable. The Five Year Plan could be conducted only from an established center; the task of industrial building could not be left to the localities. The Plan in fact has become the general headquarters of Russia. The State Planning Commission is the authority. During the present period of Socialist construction, the Communist party exists to give political direction to its orders. Local autonomy in all but cultural matters has gone by the board. And in the process, world revolution has been centralized out of existence, as far as Moscow is concerned. This slogan, most ambitious of all for Communist diffusion, has been laid aside in the economic struggle for a socialist system within the borders of the U.S.S.R. The Third International, once the world's number one bugaboo, has lost its power. Russian Communists, at least, are reluctant to admit that they still yearn for the world spread of their doctrine, or that they yearn enough to do anything effective about it. They are busy consolidating Communism at home, working not under the drive of a theory of government, but more under an economic imperative.

Centralization however is not exclusively an economic necessity. The technique of remaining in absolute power requires it. Hitler's earliest care after the first outburst of terror was to wipe out the old local distinctions that had existed since the first Confederation. A national movement of the Nazi type, depending on skilled handling of mass hysteria, requires concentrated direction. Fascist dictators do not delegate authority, partly because they are envious of power, mainly because reaction depends upon one or at most two or three men for open leadership. Italy has been governed from Rome since Mussolini took power. Dollfuss has usurped the whole authority over Austria. Such moves are entirely practical. Strong central rule, if efficiently maintained, makes rebellion more difficult; it

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enables the man on top to keep in touch with all parts of his domain.

Highly stimulated nationalism, reaction's gift to the post-war world, requires both intensive government and centralization. A stiff foreign policy can only be conducted from a powerful capital—left to themselves, smaller districts might fall into the weakness of peaceful feelings. Only the nation as a unified whole can bargain with its neighbors for larger armaments, alliances and the necessary preludes to war. Imperialism finds its best servant in a concentrated governing party. Such a government provides better discipline for imperialist purposes. It also provides a better technique for keeping the real aims of war a secret from the people who do the fighting. The profits of sending men to war require concealment. A reactionary central power, with control over the citizens' thoughts, acts and feelings, can do the job.

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The present collapse of internationalism has added to the strength of government. Immediately after the World War, internationalism seemed to be a possible successor to national enmities. Ideally, the League of Nations provided a species of super-state to control the greed and jealousies of its members. Post-war Europe accepted the idea gladly, for its problems seemed beyond the strength of national units. World solidarity promised a new and superior discipline, this time in the interests of much desired peace. The people were ready for it. They were aware, at least momentarily, how painful unchecked national power could be. In their first revulsion from four years of war, they were willing to accept the thought of international control.

The new idea, however, was not allowed to get beyond the stage of mood. The promised surrender of national power did not materialize. Even while the governments were professing the international virtues, they were as busy as ever advancing individual authority. They retained all the apparatus of nationalism, the familiar diplomacy, alliances, plans and counterplans for national supremacy. Coöperation was strictly confined to the welcoming speeches at Geneva. Internationalism remained simply an outburst of good humor. It did not limit nationalism in anything more effective than psychological directions.

Lately even the psychology of internationalism has been thrown off. Japan, in an imperialist campaign that requires the utmost national discipline, was the first great state to withdraw from the League and to disregard treaties. Nazi Germany followed. Italy has made similar threats, in an attempt to blackmail the League into Fascist patterns. Beyond the most formal remarks, the remaining powers have done nothing to reaffirm the belief in international control. They were willing—perhaps pleased—to see two leading nations withdraw from the observances, and the majority of their people, who had once supported internationalism, were willing too.

One form of internationalism has remained—the good old habit of propaganda among the neighbors. The new Germany's first foreign move was an intense and bitter campaign to bring Austria to Nazism. To the Nazi chagrin, Dollfuss has preferred Italian Fascism. Germany has been propagandizing heavily in other countries, in Rumania, in the Saar, in Danish Schleswig, and generally in bordering nations. Italy has been thrusting propaganda down the throats of all her neighbors. Russia was for long an old offender to capitalist countries. It is a quality of strong government that it seeks influence outside. A people that has accepted an extreme type of rule is usually anxious to share its blessings with the neighbors. If the neighbors are reluctant, that does not necessarily halt the process. In this form of internationalism, the wishes of the people concerned do not matter, only power counts. War is the strongest form of carrying it out; in the interval between wars the method is somewhat less violent.

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The fact of government is firmly in power the world over. The present is government's era; the thesis of today, its problems and directions. Whether the individual likes it or not, the state is in control of his life and work—and likely to remain so for a considerable time to come. The accountable future will see increase in this spread, rather than decrease, if only because material problems will not become notably simpler with the passage of time. Economic conditions, particularly in an era of crisis, have forced the present increase. Until economic and social problems are on the way to solution, government will remain in control of organized human life.

Like other world evolutions, government has had its background of intellectual effort. Periods of great religious interest have the writings and reputed sayings of their leaders. Periods of highly developed interest in the arts and humanities go back to their philosophers and creative artists for inspiration and authority. From the beginning the Industrial Revolution had a corps of economists to feed interest in its problems and development. Government power, even of the most reactionary type, possesses an intellectual authority for its doings.

Under present conditions, there are three main groups of political thought contending—Socialism, Fascism and Democracy. With the rise in dictatorship, the first two are the most active in the struggle—active to the point of pushing the third into the background. The battle is going on under our eyes in almost every part of the world—in Europe, where Fascism has reached power, even in America, where Left and Right wing trends in the New Deal struggle for supremacy.

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Back to the antecedents of democracy takes us to the beginning of the modern world—the advent of the Commercial and Industrial Revolution. Expanding markets and new methods of production created a new class in society, the trading and manufacturing bourgeoisie. Hampered by the political monopoly of an earlier group, this class needed governmental power to fulfill itself. The drive for liberation began with the writers and philosophers of the pre-Revolutionary period in France. Adopted by Paine, Jefferson and Franklin, the ideas of Rousseau, Voltaire and the Encyclopedists were put into practice in America. The French Revolution followed, firmly establishing the right of the new estate to power. In England, the increasing wealth of the middle class prompted the demand for the franchise, and by 1832 the millowners and industrialists had achieved equal authority with the landowning ruling class.

Their claims to power were based on new ideas in economics. Adam Smith's demonstration that wealth was not gold but trade opened the way. Aristocratic mercantilism inhibited trade through its monopoly of government.

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To overcome this, the concept of liberty was necessary—liberty for all to trade and grow rich free from state restrictions. The revolution was accomplished in comparative peace, by the surrender of voting power to the new class. The bourgeoisie finally was freed from aristocratic control.

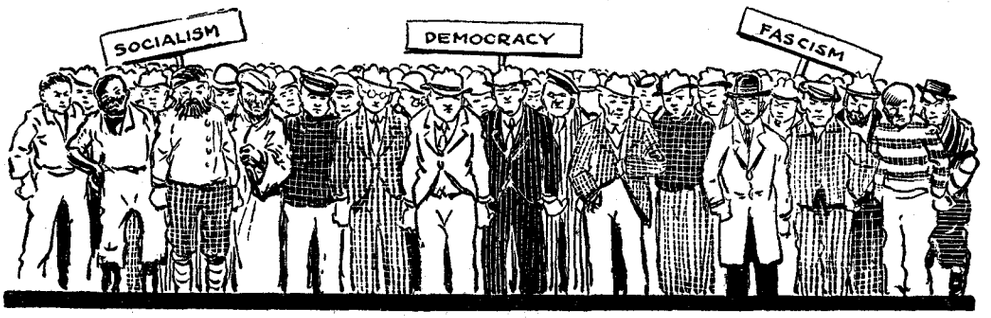
Ostensibly the extension of governing power was open to all. Under this slogan the bourgeoisie secured the aid of its contemporary class, the proletariat. This class, in fact, was created by the same forces which created the middle class, a necessary adjunct in their rise to economic and state power. Actually, equality was denied to the proletariat. It was not until much later—1867 in England—that they secured the vote. Property and residence qualifications still impair their full participation in government.

Middle class participation in government created the demand for working class power. The middle class having achieved authority, was content to let government rest, but the proletariat went on to political concepts of their own. These concepts have been generally embodied in the doctrines of Socialism. In its earliest stages, Socialism had been a purely economic movement. The various schemes for working class betterment turned away from politics, seeking paradise outside the state. The failure of utopianism soon forced radicals into the struggle for state power. The English Chartists were the first to demand voting equality with the middle class, feeling that all good things would flow to the workers once they were in Parliament. Their action definitely launched Socialism on the road to control of the state.

Karl Marx, founder of modern Socialism, was very clear on this program. The *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 calls on the workers to overthrow the bourgeois state and to erect one of their own. *Das Kapital,* Marx's analysis of bourgeois economy, furnished the Socialist reasons why the workers' state is desirable and inevitable. The successors and inheritors of Marx today have carried on both from the analysis and from the *Manifesto*. In Russia, where Socialism is in power, the seizure of the state was complete. Lenin, Trotsky and now Stalin were never under the illusion that the Socialist commonwealth could be achieved without both the complete absorption and an enormous extension of the governing power.

In Fascist countries, the middle class has rallied against the threat to its power and has seized the state. Here the intellectual background is more difficult to trace—so much of Fascist doctrine is simply the wanderings of neurotics and adventurers. For propaganda, Fascism uses in part the slogans of Socialism (which it forgets on assuming power), the jingoism of the professional militarist, and in Germany a species of racial mysticism designed to stir up the necessary hatreds and to divert the masses from the real issues of government. Fundamentally, however, the aims of Fascism are clear. On the one hand, it is the desire of certain leaders to assume autocratic rule. Large industrial interests, feeling that the safety of their profits demands the advancement of these leaders, furnish the money. The small bourgeoisie, terrified at the prospect of Socialism, give it the needed mass support. Once in power, Fascism fulfills its function by breaking down working class organization, lowering wages, and furthering the drive for war.

Government has always been the agent of economic forces. Basically its function is the apportioning of material tasks and rewards, according to the desires of the group in power. Democracy, Socialism and Fascism are three divisions of the same function; their differences the differences between the men and women behind them. Sometimes it is not easy to see on the surface just where one of the three begins and where it leaves off; in some countries they shade into one another. The American experiment in a planned society, for example, has been roundly denounced as both Socialist and Fascist, the critics unable to agree which label to apply. But whatever the name, government tomorrow will deal with the whole of material and social problems. In doing so it becomes, as never before, the concern of everyone who is governed.



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Men Against the Atom

By G. Edward Pendray

Predictions are being freely made in the scientific world that in the near future, possibly by the end of the summer, the mystery of the atom will be solved. In this group personal-graph NEW OUTLOOK presents the scientists all over the world who are striving to solve the secret of "the foundation stones of matter."

LAST summer, speaking before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, an elderly gentleman who knows as much about the subject as any man living, called the idea of getting useful power out of the atom "moonshine." This spring, an American physicist, as well-informed as his transatlantic confrere, told students at Columbia University that getting energy out of the atom may be as easy as extracting heat from coal, once power of sufficient intensity is made available to start disintegration on a suitable scale.

The rest of us may confidently take either view. For if you choose to believe that the world is on the threshold of a new power era you will find many signs to encourage you. On the other hand, you can find plenty of evidence to the contrary, especially if you look for it in the relatively small results so far achieved.

These achievements are less meagre when compared with the paltry little that had been learned about matter's foundation stones up until about thirty years ago. On the yonder side of 1900 so scant was knowledge about atoms, except for speculative guesses of the most general sort, that they were one with the hypothetical inhabitants of Mars, or the circumambient aether through which rippling light waves were supposed to pass.

All real progress in exploring the atom is an achievement of our own generation. Virtually all of the men who began the attack, even those who led skirmishes in the problem's bushy outskirts, are still living. Moreover, the really fundamental discoveries, beginning with disclosures about the nature of the atom's nucleus, have been made since the World War.

Only a little over two years ago experimenters first learned how to shatter atoms without depending on the inefficient, uncontrollable and whimsical tools supplied by nature. The positive electron, or *positron,* was first identified only in 1932; the exciting discovery of "artificial radioactivity," which may bring about as great a revolution in therapeutics and physics as the isolation of radium, is not much more than six months old.

The wonder is not that scientists have failed to harness the atom or bring about wholesale transmutation of elements, but rather that they have been able to get within gunshot of those objectives in so brief a time. New discoveries in transmutation and disintegration are coming so thick and fast these days that it takes a find of first rate importance to make even the technical press. Whether practical results will ever come of this research may be a question, but even a layman can perceive that the mystery of the ultimate particle of matter is about to be solved!

The conquest of the atom really began with the discovery of radioactivity. More exactly, it began with the demonstration that in radioactive material the very character of matter, which generations of scientists had taught was immutable, is in fact in process of spontaneous transmutation.

The classical atom of the 19th Century, and earlier, was a hypothetical pellet, presumably spherical in shape, infinitely hard and perfectly elastic. This conception was not put forth particularly to expound the origin or make-up of matter, but to explain some of the behavior of solids, liquids and gases. The atom that emerged from studies of radioactivity was as different from the atom of Newton and Dalton as the man in the street is from the economic man of Adam Smith. It was an atom of actual, and not conveniently hypothetical, qualities.

For one thing, it was learned that the atom is electrical. The British physicist, J. J. Thomson, was first to perceive that minute negative electrical charges can be brushed off the outside of atoms. Later he succeeded in isolating some of these charges and measuring them. He noted that while loss of a negative electrical particle, or electron, produces a positive charge in what remains of the atom, its essential character is unchanged. As soon as possible the damaged atom will attract another electron from its surroundings, and become whole.

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A young New Zealander, now one of the most distinguished scientific men in England, then discovered that the secret of the atom really lies in its core, or nucleus. This was, and is, considered to be an aggregation of closely packed sub-atomic particles, the whole endowed with a positive electrical charge. Around this nucleus, in orbits comparable with those of planets around the sun, move electrons sufficient in number to neutralize it. In the case of hydrogen, the lightest element, one electron is sufficient to neutralize the nucleus. In helium, two are needed. The heaviest element, uranium, has ninety-two.

The stability which gives the atom its character resides in the nucleus. An atom of lithium will always be an atom of lithium so long as its nucleus weighs seven times as much as the nucleus of hydrogen and has a positive charge sufficient to attract three orbital electrons. The only way permanently to give this atom characteristics different from those of lithium is to add to, or subtract from, the nucleus

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in such a way as to alter either its charge or weight, in which case it will take on the characteristics of the element into which it has been changed by the metamorphosis.

Most of the mass of the atom is also concentrated in the nucleus. Though considerably smaller than its orbital electron, the nucleus of hydrogen weighs 1,850 times as much as its feathery satellite. The weight of an atom is thus not appreciably changed when accident scrapes off its outer electrons.

Finally, not the least singular thing about the atom is its marvelous emptiness, in which it resembles the solar system closely. The diameter of a hydrogen atom is at least 100,000 times the diameter of its nucleus, and so it consists mostly of space as empty as that which lies between the earth and sun. Yet all atoms are almost inconceivably small. There are approximately 1,000,000,000,000,000,-000,000 atoms in a single drop of water.

The first clue to the nature of the nucleus was obtained by studying the radioactive substances. These atoms (which are all at the heavy end of the atomic scale) are slowly breaking down into lighter elements, throwing off as they go the material not needed in the transformation. This rubbish consists of an extremely powerful radiation, a stream of positively charged helium nuclei moving at high speeds, and a similar stream of negatively charged particles which have been identified as electrons.

Not all radioactivity produces all three kinds of emanation; it depends upon the type of transformation taking place. Hence studies of the amount, speed and weight of the emitted material and the residue make it possible to chart the devious series of changes through which the radioactive substances pass.

The swift particles shot off by radium and other radioactive elements also permit direct action. This is possible because ordinary atoms, if struck hard enough by pellets small enough and solid enough, can be caused to disintegrate in somewhat the same way as radioactive material. Streams of helium nuclei of radioactive origin, called "alpha particles" are especially good for this job, and were first to be used in picking apart the atoms of the lighter elements.

One immediate result was the discovery that the nucleus of hydrogen, the positively charged *proton,* appears to be a fundamental building block. A century ago, when an Edinburgh physician, William Prout, ventured that all the heavier elements are but multiple combinations of hydrogen, chemists and physicists laughed his theory into oblivion. It proved, however, to have been an inspired guess. Of the four sub-atomic particles known today, three are probably derived from hydrogen. The physical make-up of all the elements can be explained in terms of protons, electrons and *neutrons,* the latter particle apparently being either an electrically neutral combination of a proton and an electron, hence a sort of compressed hydrogen atom, or else a fundamental particle from which the proton is made up by the addition of a positive electron, or *positron.* Both theories are held today, and there is as yet too little evidence to choose between them.

The nucleus of helium, to take a simple case, is probably composed of two neutrons and two protons, bound tightly together by electrical forces. This should give it a weight four times that of hydrogen, and a double positive charge sufficient to attract two orbital electrons—a prediction which coincides with the facts. Take another, the element lithium, which weighs seven times as much as hydrogen and has three orbital electrons. Experimental evidence bears out the conclusion that its nucleus consists of four neutrons and three protons. The injection of a fourth proton into the lithium nucleus by bombardment causes a tremendous explosion. Two helium nuclei, each with two protons and two neutrons, result. They are hurled away in opposite directions like sub-atomic cannon balls by the enormous force liberated in the transaction.

Action of this kind apparently occurs in every case of successful bombardment. The sub-atomic particles are not knocked out of the atom by the sheer force of the projectile, as a bombshell might blow apart a barn; they are ejected by the nucleus itself. The force of the ejection does not depend very much upon the energy carried by the entering particle, but upon the energy released or absorbed by the intranuclear reorganization which the intruder brings about.

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The energy is released through what the physicists call the "packing effect." When sub-atomic particles cram themselves together to form a nucleus, part of their mass is released in the form of energy. Thus, when two protons and two neutrons go together to form a helium nucleus, the resulting packet does not weigh quite as much as the sum of the weights of the original particles. The difference in weight is transformed into energy and emitted either as powerful radiation or in the form of kinetic force. The amount of energy thus given out by helium nuclei is very high; about a quarter of one per cent of the mass. If some cheap method could be found for building helium atoms out of hydrogen, the power troubles of the country would be instantly at an end. The production of as little as 1/100 of an ounce of helium from hydrogen would yield the equivalent of 1,000,000 horse-power for one hour.

Many combinations can be figured out by which the addition of a proton, neutron or other particle will release energy, *in the atom struck.* But so small are the nuclei, so great the spaces and electrical barriers between them, that only an exceptionally lucky bombarding particle hits directly enough to produce disintegration. This accidental collision may release enormous quantities of energy, but in the aggregate more power (at present) is used in the bombardment than is extracted from it.

A recent calculation of the chances for successful bombardment shows that only one bombarding particle in 2,000,000 will cause a disintegration. To produce a total gain in energy at this rate, each disintegration would have to release more than two million times as much energy as that borne by the successful bombarding particle—and the combination of bombarding particle and bombarded atom that will produce in this ratio is as yet unknown. Perhaps it does not exist.

This does not mean, however, that the obstacle is unsurmountable. Many optimists believe, in fact, that it will soon be overcome. Few, if any, of the atomic physicists now working on the problem are seeking the practical release of energy as a conscious goal, however. Most of them are "pure" scientists. They do not have to produce results beneficial to industry to keep their jobs. Practically all are connected with universities or endowed research institutions. A surprising number are young men. Several are under thirty.

Judging by past performance, these are the principal Men Against the Atom to keep an eye on during the next few months:

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SIR ERNEST RUTHERFORD (*Cavendish Professor of experimental physics in the University of Cambridge, England*). To this sixty-three-year-old New Zealander the world of atomic physics owes more than it can ever acknowledge. It was Rutherford, then a young professor at McGill University, who first began formulating a true explanation of the nuclear nature of radioactivity. Later, in the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge, he started experiments leading to atomic discoveries which in a generation have transformed the atomic nucleus from an unknown and practically unsuspected particle to a ground upon which the explorers are now well encamped. He is still, despite his years, the No. 1 Man in atomic research.

Rutherford was first to perceive, in the fast alpha particles shot off by radium, a weapon that could be used in exploring the unknown inner parts of the atom.

The big problem was to devise a way to observe the results. It had been known for some time that if a screen coated with zinc sulphide were subjected to a stream of fast-moving particles, the salt would emit tiny green flashes of light, visible in a microscope. These scintillations depend in brightness upon the speed and mass of the particle that strikes the screen; hence offer a rough indication of its nature.

Rutherford made such a screen and placed near it a tiny speck of radium. Between the radium and the screen he placed elements to be bombarded. He soon saw that all of the scintillations were not caused by alpha particles. Some were produced by new particles traveling at a high speed, higher even than the alpha particles, which have a velocity of about 10,000 miles a second. Many of these experiments were made during the war, sandwiched in between the war activities in which Rutherford and most other British and American scientists participated. On one occasion he wrote to Dr. Karl Compton, with whom he was working in an inter-allied conference on scientific methods of submarine detection, that he and an assistant had apparently split an atom of hydrogen in two. "If this is true," wrote Rutherford, "it is a matter of importance far exceeding that of the war."

It turned out, however, that he had not split a hydrogen atom, but had knocked a proton (hydrogen) out of nitrogen. In subsequent experiments he proved that it was possible to knock protons out of several of the lighter chemical elements by bombarding them with alpha particles.

As head of the Cavendish Laboratory, Rutherford not only initiated atomic bombardment, but has continued his work to this day. Only recently he announced in the British scientific journal *"Nature"* the discovery, or possibly the creation, of a new hydrogen isotope three times as heavy as ordinary hydrogen and half again as heavy as deuterium, the "heavy hydrogen" discovered in 1931.

Today he is a robust old man, keen and eager, gray-mustached, tall, crowned with impressive iron-gray hair. For his work he has received practically every academic honor. He has been a Fellow of the Royal Society for many years. He received the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1908, was knighted in 1914, and was elected to the presidency of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1923.

It was Rutherford who last summer spread consternation among atomic-power enthusiasts by calling the idea "moonshine." By this he meant that the energy put into a mass of atoms to break them will always be greater than the amount extracted, at least in useful form. This is a question about which there can be different points of view, but to date it must be admitted that Rutherford has all the experimental evidence on his side.

ROBERT A. MILLIKAN (*Director of the Norman Bridge laboratory of physics and chairman of the executive council of the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena, Calif.*). At sixty-six he is one of the most productive and most highly respected members of the American scientific community. While not the discoverer of the electron, he was first to measure its mass and negative charge. His subsequent work firmly established the relatively new field known as "electronics," leading to the invention and use of such items as radio tubes and photo-electric cells. Among other honors, he received the Nobel Prize in physics in 1923. In recent years he has become well known to newspaper readers for his theories about the cosmic rays, having become the friendly opponent of another atomic physicist, Dr. Arthur Compton, in a clash of ideas about these radiations.

Millikan comes into the company of atom-smashers chiefly because of his work with the electron, and through his work with cosmic rays. One of his major contributions was to observe that no matter what the cosmic rays may be, they represent energy more concentrated than physicists have ever been able to produce artificially; also that they are capable of knocking the stuffing out of atoms. He set his associates to work looking for evidence of cosmic rays smashing atoms. The results of this search are interesting and important, for the chief person he set to work on the problem was a young man by the name of Anderson.

CARL D. ANDERSON (*Physicist at California Institute of Technology*). Tall, dark-haired and quiet, Anderson is no exception to the rule that most of the spectacular recent discoveries in atomic physics have been made by young men. He is twenty-nine, and for several years past has been doing important things at Pasadena. He was Millikan's Number One assistant until fame caught up with him. This happened in 1931 when, in the magnet-surrounded Wilson cloud chamber at California Tech, he succeeded in catching cosmic rays in the act of thumping the insides out of atoms. Photographs of this feat, mailed to his mentor (in Europe at the time), caused Millikan to give Anderson's name to the world.

The pictures looked rather unimpressive to laymen. One newspaperman is said to have written, "The photograph appeared as poorly developed pictures, with all the details smudged by poor photography." They showed the dark background of the cloud chamber across which went curved white lines—paths of charged particles knocked from air atoms by the force of the cosmic rays.

By noting the curvature caused by the magnet in the path of each atomic particle, Anderson was able to calculate the velocity and make some kind of guess as to the energy of the force that knocked the particle from the atom. It corresponded to about 50,000,000 volts.

Continuing his work with the magnetic cloud chamber, he began to notice that the rays were knocking out particles in pairs. These particles pursued identically curved paths in the magnetic field, with the exception that

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the paths curved in opposite directions. From this, the Pasadena physicist concluded that one was an ordinary electron, and that the other must be a positive particle of exactly the same weight and mass as an electron—hence a "positron." If it were a proton, which has 1,850 times the mass of an electron, it would have pursued a straighter path.

This discovery of the positron, which had been foreshadowed a year earlier in the theory of the mathematician Dirac, was phenomenal. Just where the positron fits into the picture is still somewhat in doubt, but there is no question of its existence. Many other scientists have observed it since Anderson's announcement, in 1932. By the spring of 1933, he had learned how to produce positrons without depending on cosmic rays. Using the gamma rays of Thorium C″, the most powerful emitted by any radioactive substance, he succeeded in knocking out positrons in ones, twos, threes and sometimes showers.

The positron is a short-lived particle, existing in free flight for only a billionth of a second or so, and ending in union with an electron, in which case both seem to disappear in a flash of radiation. One theory is that the positron, and the electron which frequently is paired with it, are produced by the transformation of the energy of cosmic rays or gamma rays into matter. If this turns out to be true, Anderson will have had the unique experience of being the first man to catch creation at work.

JAMES CHADWICK (*Physicist at the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge*). An associate of Rutherford, Chadwick became a man against the atom in his own right when, in the spring of 1932, he discovered the neutron. This was accomplished in the course of experiments in which he bombarded the metal beryllium with fast alpha particles from the radioactive element polonium, in an attempt to learn the nature of a powerful radiation which other workers had observed to be emitted by this metal under bombardment.

To trick the radiation into revealing itself, Chadwick put a screen of nitrogen in its way and photographed the results in the cloud chamber. So powerful was the unknown emanation that nitrogen atoms were propelled with energy three times as great as the physicist had expected. He found by calculation that this could not be accounted for except by assuming that the bombarded beryllium was emitting particles instead of radiation. These particles would have to be about as heavy as a proton, moving at about a tenth of the velocity of light, and it would have to be assumed that they were *without* electrical charge. It was one of the truly remarkable discoveries in atomic physics. It provided a particle needed in explaining the makeup of nuclei, also a new and valuable bombarding particle. The neutron's lack of electrical charge permits it to penetrate the electrical fields of the atom with impunity. In some respects it is the best bullet yet found for attacking that recalcitrant fortress.

J. D. COCKCROFT AND E. T. S. WALTON (*Physicists at the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge*). One day in April, 1932, there came to these two young men an experience unique in the history of human evolution. Before them man knew no means by which he could control the creation or destruction of matter with his own weapons. Afterward he had that knowledge, for they had learned how to produce disintegration with artificially hurled bullets.

Atomic disintegration prior to that April day had been done with particles shot off by radioactive materials; hence with nature's tools, subject to limitations set by natural circumstances. Cockcroft and Walton used protons, the nuclei of hydrogen atoms, obtaining them by passing a direct current of electricity through a tube containing hydrogen. The current strips electrons from the hydrogen atoms—ionizes them. The electrons gravitate toward the positive end of the tube, the protons toward the negative end.

They managed to have the protons spill out of the separation tube into the top of a second, evacuated tube. Here a high voltage current was moving from one end to the other in such a way that the entering protons were caught up and hurled through the pipe like buckshot through the barrel of a shotgun. At the lower end they emerged through a thin mica window which served to keep air out of the tube but had little effect on the speeding ultra-microscopic particles. The velocity on emergence depended upon the voltage of the current in the tube. With proper equipment this could be stepped up until the protons would come out with velocities rivaling those of alpha particles from radium.

Actually it was found unnecessary to attain such speed. At about 7,000 miles a second Cockcroft and Walton produced disintegrations in several kinds of atoms, the most spectacular effect being obtained with the light metal lithium. In this experiment they arranged the lithium target at half a right angle to the bombarding stream, and placed a zinc sulphide screen in such a way that the bombarding protons could not strike it, whereas disintegration products shot off in any direction but that of the bombarding particles could do so. They soon made the remarkable discovery that bombardment of lithium by protons produces alpha particles, or helium, plus considerable energy.

What happens appears to be this: lithium, with an atomic weight of seven, absorbs a proton of weight one, and the enlarged nucleus then breaks up into two helium nuclei each of weight four, plus the packing energy of the transformation and the original energy of the bombarding proton. The two helium nuclei are shot off in exactly opposite directions as if by an explosion between them. Each carries half the liberated energy in the form of velocity. In this miraculous transformation the bombarding proton, with an energy of about 700,000 volts, releases about 14,000,000 volts of energy from the atom of lithium, a gain of twenty-fold.

Cockcroft and Walton are proteges and disciples of Lord Rutherford. The elder partner, Cockcroft, is now thirty-six. Walton is half a dozen years younger. Both are quiet, undemonstrative, little given to talking. The announcement of their great discovery was not made by them, but by Lord Rutherford.

FREDERICK JOLIOT AND IRENE CURIE (*Physicists of the Institut du Radium, Paris.*) This man and wife team has a slight advantage over other physicists working with radioactive material because the Institut, over which the illustrious elderly Marie Curie holds sway, probably has a more adequate supply of this precious stuff than any other physics laboratory in the world. Moreover, they are physicists of the first rank. They came so near to discovering the neutron before Chadwick

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identified it, and the positron before Anderson located it in his photographs, that scientists all over the world were glad to see them crash through first with an announcement a few months ago. And what an announcement! They had found a method of producing artificial radioactivity.

The trick was first turned by bombarding the element boron with alpha particles from polonium. Full minutes after the bombardment had ceased the boron target continued to emit flying positive particles, identified as positrons, or positive electrons. Later they were able to do it with magnesium and aluminum as well. When the discovery was announced early this year practically every physics laboratory in Europe and America undertook to reproduce the experiment and extend it.

By this time artificial radioactivity has been induced by various means in at least three other elements. Medical men are beginning to watch the development over the shoulders of the physicists. When Becquerel discovered radioactivity in 1896, and Irene Curie's mother and father isolated radium in 1900, few foresaw any possible use for the stuff. What new, as yet unthought-of fields may be opened for radioactive material that can be produced right in the hospital or laboratory by means of high-voltage electrical power!

What apparently happens in the case of induced radioactivity is that bombarding particles, entering the various nuclei, establish unstable conditions there which later break down through the emission of other kinds of particles. In short, it is a variety of delayed disintegration. The main mystery is, what delays it? For that matter, what delays the disintegration of the naturally radioactive elements?

Cockcroft and Walton in England, Lauritsen, Crane and Harper in California and many other experimenters had no trouble to reproduce the Joliot-Curie effect when they used pellets electrically hurled instead of natural alpha particles. There need be no dearth of radioactive material as long as high-voltage apparatus is available to manufacture it. Nobody knows at present, of course, whether the stuff has medical value. A chief obstacle to studying this aspect is the short period in which the material is radioactive after bombardment. Carbon, which gives a large effect when bombarded with deutons, has an effective radioactive period of only ten minutes. The effect from boron is somewhat less intense, but its radioactive "half life" is as much as twenty minutes.

Joliot and Irene Curie are still in their early thirties. They have much the same colorless, quiet persistence which brought great achievements to the couple whose work they are carrying on. Most observers expect to hear from this team again before the atom is finally brought to its knees.

C. T. R. WILSON (*Professor of Natural Philosophy, Cambridge University*). Observation of a relatively simple fact: that when ions are created in a gas super-saturated with water vapor they serve as particles upon which water droplets will form, gave this British physicist a permanent place in the story of the conquest of the atom. Following up his observation, he invented the apparatus which makes it possible to photograph the paths of ultra-microscopic atomic fragments. He began his studies about 1896. By 1911 he had built a "cloud chamber" for his own use so good that it is in operation to this day. Some of the finest, clearest "atom tracks" ever photographed have come from it.

The principle of the Wilson cloud chamber, or ionization chamber, is this: charged particles moving at great speed through air or other gases knock off many electrons in their course, and hence leave behind a trail of ions. If the gas is heavily impregnated with water vapor, each ion will become a tiny droplet of moisture, and for an instant the path of the swift particle will be outlined in white droplets against the dark background of the chamber. If an electric spark or other suitable source of illumination be supplied at just the proper moment, a photograph of the path can be obtained.

In the Wilson chamber the proper degree of moisture for the job is obtained by withdrawing a plunger, which reduces the temperature of the air in the chamber and causes the moisture to condense. Simultaneously the speeding particle is allowed to fly through, the spark is set off, and the picture snapped.

The only important improvement made by others on Wilson's apparatus is the logical one of placing it in a strong magnetic field. From the behavior of the particle in this field its charge, velocity and mass can be calculated.

W. BOTHE AND H. BECKER (*Professors of physics at the University of Giessen, Germany*). This team of Germans was first to discover the mysterious and powerful invisible radiation emitted by bombarded beryllium which Chadwick later identified as streams of neutrons. In 1930 they bombarded beryllium with alpha particles and noted that something came forth which had unusual penetrating power. They concluded that it must be radiation like that of gamma rays and X-rays, though much more powerful. It was a wrong guess; nevertheless, their work started Chadwick on his successful experiment.

ARNO BRASCH AND FRITZ LANGE (*Engineers of the German General Electric Co.*). These young Germans were among the first to seek ways of smashing atoms with high-voltage apparatus. Along about 1928, they undertook to repeat Benjamin Franklin's famous experiment—on a larger scale—and draw down lightning from the clouds for the job. This led them to look for the best, most lightning-struck spot in the world, and they found it at Monte Generoso, near the Italian-Swiss border.

The difficulty of making a vacuum tube of sufficient strength and size to handle the enormous lightning current caused the mountain experiment to fail. Undaunted, they set up shop back in Germany and began devising high-voltage apparatus, based on the "cascade" principle. The set-up includes a number of condensers each capable of supporting some tens of thousands of volts. Charged from a transformer, they are connected in parallel so that all will have the same voltage. Then, by means of a quick-acting device, the connection is changed so that they are arranged in series, with the result that the total voltage of the combination becomes equal to the sum of the voltages of each condenser. By this method a tremendous flash of current can be obtained, its voltage depending, within natural limits, upon the number and capacity of the condensers used.

With such apparatus Brasch and Lange, working at the Physics Institute of the University of Berlin, have shot protons at various elements under electrical pressures ranging up to 2,500,000 volts. One of their accomplishments to date has been the successful disintegration of lead, an ele-

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ment so heavy that it had resisted the efforts of physicists working with punier power sources. Whether Brasch and Lange will succeed in doing anything more important with their method remains to be seen.

ROBERT J. VAN DE GRAAFF (*Assistant Professor of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*). If high-voltages will pick the lock of atomic nuclei, the betting is that this young physicist will soon be in position to open the last door to that citadel. His solution of the problem of obtaining high potentials for atomic research is at once the simplest and most daring yet brought forth, and likely to be the most successful.

It works on practically the same principle as those glass-disc electrostatic machines that used to be an indispensable part of every college physics laboratory. Van de Graaff puts electrical charges on endless belts of paper, over which they are conveyed to huge insulated metal balls. The longer the belts run, the higher becomes the charge deposited in the ball, until the potential is great enough to break down the resistance of the air, and a miniature thunderbolt strikes out toward the nearest conductor.

The first model of this apparatus was constructed at Princeton University, at a total cost of $92, to demonstrate the soundness of the principle. Though crudely built, it produced a voltage several times higher than any direct current constant source previously known. A few months later Van de Graaff made a better one, which developed a potential of 1,500,000 volts.

He is now engaged in completing a giant, capable of producing 10,000,000 volts continuously—more than four times the power that Brasch and Lange have been able to obtain even for a split second with their elaborate cascade. The large Van de Graaff generator is being built in an airship dock on the estate of Colonel E. H. R. Green (the son of the late Hetty Green) at Round Hill, Mass. It consists of two units, each twenty-four feet high, surmounted by fifteen-foot aluminum balls which are to serve as condensers for the charges. Laboratories will be set up inside these hollow spheres, and they will be connected by a twenty-foot vacuum tube twelve inches in diameter.

When the potential has been built up, there will be a difference between the two spheres of 10,000,000 volts. Into the negative end of the tube a stream of protons or deutons (nuclei of "heavy hydrogen" atoms) will be admitted. They will be shot down the tube by electric pressure, and at the other end will strike targets of the element to be bombarded. What will happen then is a matter for conjecture. Perhaps the results will be no greater in proportion than for lesser voltages, but in general observers believe that Van de Graaff's contrivance will knock something out of the atom that will make history.

ARTHUR H. COMPTON (*Professor of Physics at the University of Chicago*). This Nobel Prize winner is best known today for his work with cosmic rays, but he has also aided materially in the conquest of the atom, principally through his study of X-rays and the way they scatter when projected into crystals. The "Compton effect," named after him is a phenomenon associated with X-ray scattering. His work aided in establishing methods now used to measure atoms and molecules in solid structures, and to determine to some extent their shape. He is an Ohio boy, well built and handsome, born at Wooster in 1892. He is the younger brother of Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

This spring Compton, with his colleague Dr. E. O. Wollan, also of the University of Chicago, startled the National Academy of Sciences at Washington, by showing "photographs" of atoms, the best of which was a portrait of the atom of argon. These interesting exhibits were made by photographing a rapidly rotating template which had been shaped according to mathematical principles based on X-ray spectra of gases. Compton said they probably give a good idea of what an atom might look like, if it were possible to see one, which of course it is not. The atoms in the "photos" look like hazy circular fields, suggest electrical force, and have white centers. The blank center represents the nucleus, which does not permit analysis by X-ray, hence resists picturing by this unique method.

CHARLES C. LAURITSEN (*Associate Professor of Physics at the California Institute of Technology*). Though at present working on the production of artificial radioactivity, having repeated the success of the Joliot-Curies and extending their experiment to several other elements, Lauritsen's specialty is the production of high-voltage atom-bombarding apparatus. He has developed a very high power X-ray tube, and has carried on atomic disintegration tests with equipment similar to that used by Cockcroft and Walton, though developing power up to about 1,000,000 volts. He is a Dane, born at Holstebro forty-two years ago. With his associates, H. R. Crane and W. W. Harper, he recently repeated the artificial production of radioactivity in three new elements through bombardment with deutons. This triumvirate a few weeks later succeeded in "weighing" the neutron, fixing its mass at 1.0067—a result that gave strength to the theory that the neutron is a fundamental entity from which the proton is made up by the addition of a positron.

ERNEST O. LAWRENCE (*Professor of Physics at the University of California*). A thirty-three-year-old, bespectacled, black-haired South Dakotan who has invented one of the most ingenious contraptions for hurling atomic particles at high speeds ever contrived. Lawrence has built a sort of atomic merry-go-round, in which positively charged particles such as protons or deutons are whirled in ever widening circles by correctly timed electrical impulses until, reaching the proper speed for bombardment, they escape through a slit at the side of the apparatus and carom against the atomic target. With this contrivance high speed particles can be obtained with the use of only relatively low voltages. It thus has an important advantage over all other known methods of speeding up bombarding particles.

Lawrence's associates in his experiments are young M. Stanley Livingston, and, sometimes, Malcolm C. Henderson. With their aid he has used the contrivance successfully to repeat the experiments of Cockcroft and Walton, and later of Joliot and Curie. He is now engaged chiefly in the study of artificial radioactivity in various elements. Not long ago Lawrence and Livingston revealed a way to obtain a constant stream of neutrons for bom-

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barding purposes—a difficult job because these electrically neutral particles cannot be caught up and hurled by high voltage as can others. The method is to send 50,000-mile-a-second deutons (positively charged nuclei of heavy hydrogen) from their merry-go-round into a thin target of lithium. This shatters both lithium atoms and the bombarding deutons, sending streams of protons and neutrons into a lead sheet. There the protons are stopped, but the more penetrating neutrons pass through with hardly any loss of speed. It has been suggested that neutron streams so generated may have therapeutic value, but there is no experimental evidence yet to support this idea.

M. A. TUVE (*Physicist of the department of terrestrial magnetism, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.*). One of the leaders in atomic disintegration with high-voltage bombardment, and now at work on disintegration experiments with an apparatus operating on the principle of the Van de Graaff electrostatic generator. Tuve's apparatus, unlike Van de Graaff's new generator at Round Hill, Mass., has only one charged sphere, which discharges to the floor through a vertical vacuum tube. Recently he repeated Lord Rutherford's experiment on the production of triple-weight hydrogen, proving, of course, that the British scientist was right. Tuve was born in 1901 at Canton, South Dakota, a town that seems to be unusually productive of atom-smashers, Canton also having been the birthplace of Prof. Lawrence, of the University of California. Tuve is about six weeks older than Lawrence, medium tall, thin, attractive, extremely careful of the scientific accuracy of his work and conservative in statements about it.

LAWRENCE R. HAFSTAD (*Associate Physicist, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.*). Formerly a telephone engineer employed by the Northwest Bell Telephone Co., Hafstad won part of the American Association for the Advancement of Science prize in 1931 (at the age of twenty-seven) for his contributions to atomic physics. He is now Dr. Tuve's right hand man at the Carnegie Institution. His specialty is the production of high-voltage vacuum tubes and atomic bombardment with speedy particles derived therefrom.

LIEUTENANT ODD DAHL (*Assistant physicist at the Carnegie Institution, Washington*). A former Norwegian engineer, this young man made good rapidly in Washington, taking a position with the Carnegie Institution in 1927, and in 1931 sharing the coveted prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Science with his associate, Hafstad. High voltage and high voltage tubes used as tools in atomic physics are his specialties. His name is being mentioned with increasing frequency, coupled usually with those of Tuve or Hafstad, in announcements of atomic discoveries. He is thirty-six.

KARL T. COMPTON (*President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.*). As head of one of the most important engineering schools in the country, this Compton, elder of the two famous brothers Compton, has had an important influence in stimulating atom research in this country. It was to Karl Compton that Lord Rutherford wrote during the war to reveal that he had succeeded in preliminary attempts at atomic disintegration. Compton has made important contributions to present knowledge of the photoelectric effect, investigation of the structure of crystals by X-rays, fluorescence and dissociation of gases, and thermionic emission. At present he is too tied up with administrative duties at M. I. T. and as head of President Roosevelt's Science Advisory Board to take an active part in laboratory experiment; nevertheless, he has found time to explain the achievements of the atom-smashers in public lectures and to encourage them in private. It was Karl Compton who recently ventured an optimistic opinion as to the possibility of obtaining power from atoms, suggesting that, if disintegration is once started with sufficient fury, atoms themselves may furnish power enough to continue the process of its own accord.

G. M. GAMOW (*Russian mathematical physicist*). The atomic theory devised by this mathematician encouraged Cockcroft and Walton to continue with the construction of their artificial disintegration apparatus even after they perceived that relatively meagre power could be expected from it. The reason is that Gamow showed how little power would be necessary, under proper conditions. It is now generally believed that atoms respond selectively to certain bombardment speeds better than to others. Gamow's work, while not establishing the belief, was a contributing factor toward it. The success of Cockcroft and Walton showed that his prediction was accurate. Most of Gamow's work has been done in Germany, but he is in England at present.

NEILS BOHR (*Head of the Institute of Analytical Physics, Copenhagen*). To this physicist-mathematician science owes the first theory of the atom which explained in a more or less exact way some of the phenomena associated with it, such as the emission of light and X-rays. The Bohr atom is now out of date, but it still remains the most helpful one for non-scientists. It has the advantage of being intelligible, whereas some of the more modern theories, one suspects, are not understood even by their authors. Bohr explained the atom in terms of a planetary system, in which the nucleus corresponds to the sun and the outer electrons to planets, encircling the nucleus in definite orbits. Each possible orbit, he argued, corresponds to a certain energy level in the atom. When something happens to the atom to increase or decrease its energy, the electrons will jump from one orbit to another. This jumping is what gives rise to radiation such as light.

P. A. M. DIRAC (*Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge*). A mathematical theory of the atom considerably harder to explain than that of Bohr won this mathematician the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1933. In the elaboration of his theory he assumed that every possible position in space is occupied by an electron, and that when something happens to knock an electron out of one of the possible places, a hole in space will appear, which might look and act like a positive particle of the same mass but opposite charge as the electron. The Dirac theory gained great strength when, about a year after he had thus predicted it, Anderson actually caught a photograph of a positron. The evidence is yet to come, however, as to whether it is a hole in space.

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HAROLD C. UREY (*Associate Professor of Chemistry, Columbia University*). No less an authority than Lord Rutherford has called the achievement of this quiet forty-one-year-old Indianan "one of the half dozen greatest achievements of physical science in the present century." This is taking in a lot of territory, but Urey's discovery and identification of dueterium, the so-called heavy hydrogen, is certainly important both as a contribution to general knowledge and as an aid to the bombardment of atoms. The achievement was shared by Urey's associate at Columbia, G. M. Murphy, and F. G. Brickwedde, of the U. S. Bureau of Standards.

Deuterium is an *isotope* of hydrogen —a variant form having the same number of outer electrons as ordinary hydrogen, but different mass. Since ordinary hydrogen has a mass of one, the second hydrogen cannot help but be heavier. Its nucleus is now thought to be composed of a proton combined with a neutron, thus doubling its weight without changing the magnitude of its positive charge. This pellet, it is evident, will be at least twice as effective a bombarding particle as a proton, in the same way as a two-pound shell will do more damage than a one-pounder.

Urey, Murphy and Brickwedde found this heavy hydrogen by distilling liquid hydrogen to concentrate the small fraction containing it until they had enough to reveal it spectrographically. This was accomplished in 1931. Since then several ways have been devised to concentrate the heavy hydrogen through its oxide, "heavy water," and several ounces have now been produced in various laboratories. The ratio of heavy hydrogen to ordinary hydrogen found in random mixtures is about 1 to 5,000. The outer electron arrangement being identical (this being the only part of an atom concerned with chemical reactions) heavy hydrogen behaves practically the same as ordinary hydrogen chemically, but it has many physical characteristics, such as weight, boiling and freezing points, and biological effects that are different. These are now undergoing elaborate investigation.

M. L. OLIPHANT AND P. HARTECK (*Physicists at the Cavendish Laboratory*). These young associates of Lord Rutherford first made the newspapers recently when their mentor announced the discovery, or creation, of "triterium," the triple-weight hydrogen. Working with him on this job, they bombarded salts containing deuterium, or heavy hydrogen, with high-speed deuterium particles. The result was an enormous emission of protons, which could be accounted for only on the assumption that bombarded deutons had combined with bombarding deutons, forming unstable nuclei of mass four, which then broke down (with the ejection of a proton) into nuclei of mass three, each containing two neutrons and one proton (and hence attracting one orbital electron). Later measurements of this triple hydrogen indicate this conclusion to be correct. It is probable that triple hydrogen atoms exist in nature, mixed with ordinary hydrogen and double hydrogen; ordinary hydrogen being 5,000 times more plentiful than double hydrogen, and 500,000,000 more than triple hydrogen.

GEORGE R. PEAGRAM (*Professor of Physics, Columbia University*). This elderly physicist has just completed one of the most delicate and intricate tasks in the world, the measuring of the neutron, which he found to have a diameter of one ten-trillionth (1/10,000,000,000,000) of an inch. This he achieved with the aid of elaborate apparatus designed by himself and his youthful associate, John R. Dunning, the principle of which is that the size of small particles can be determined mathematically according to the way they scatter when striking heavier substances, such as the nuclei of platinum, aluminum and copper. The source of the neutrons used in the experiment was a beryllium bulb containing radon, a radioactive element which they borrowed from the Memorial Hospital in New York between cancer patients.

MEN IN GENERAL

AS IN MOST scientific research, the battle against the atom resembles a game in which the ball is frequently passed back and forth, permitting each member of the team at some time or other to carry it. A discovery in one laboratory leads to a more important one elsewhere, which in turn inspires a third, sometimes in a totally unexpected way. Bothe and Becker's experiments with beryllium in Germany caused Chadwick to discover the neutron in England; the neutron in turn gave rise to a handful of new disintegrations in America and Europe. Dirac, looking for a hole in space at the Cavendish Laboratory, stimulated Anderson to find it at Pasadena. Soddy and Aston in England, Bainbridge at Swarthmore, Pa., and many others laid the foundations for the triumphal discovery of heavy hydrogen by Urey, Murphy and Brickwedde.

Where the ball will land next nobody knows. It may turn up in the laboratory of some obscure worker, embodied in a discovery that will make him world famous. More likely it will fall into the hands of one or another of the veteran atom-smashers who have by now reduced this technique to a fine art. There is no telling where the discoveries made already will lead, when the practically-minded engineers get going on them. Just as Millikan's work with the electron led to radio tubes, electric eyes and other miraculous contributions to the complexity of life on this planet, so may the neutron or positron be harnessed up to ease our daily burdens, even though the expected gush of energy from the atom's heart never materializes.

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EDITORIAL

The Road Between Two Blades of Grass

SPRING ends and the summer comes on and we enter still another phase of the effort for national recovery. Like many of those which have gone before it, it will be largely psychological. Its primary objective will be the same as that of earlier phases of New Dealism —a confusion of issues, a further obscuring of motives in order to cover a lack both of a plan and of ability to execute a plan—if there were one. It will seek to bolster psychologically the sinking morale of the New Deal army of 600,000 currently encamped on the Potomac, and on the government payroll.

An able critic has called the undertaking which began on March 4, 1933, a planless plan. Such a conclusion can be made from any observation of the twelve months' trail so thickly strewn with abandoned experiments. These, almost from the outset, have been called frankly "experiments." This is a workable method of saving face in the event of failure of any given experiment by calling it an experiment in advance. It is a political trick, resent it though we may, which at least has the virtue of achieving its purpose. Any trick is a good trick, if it works. But the speed with which the Executive has taken up an experiment, dropped it, to take up another only in turn to drop that one in favor of yet one more, leads inevitably, as the process is repeated over and over and over, to the at least permissible conclusion that at no given moment is there ever much faith in any or all of these plans. If this be conceded, one is entitled to assume then that back and beyond all these there must be some one controlling idea at least decently dressed in some fixity.

We may begin our search here at this point. The way is dark and difficult. We seek to weigh purposes behind purposes. We study a record of action—and there is plenty of that—and of the effect of action. And here we come upon a thing which must serve our purpose at least temporarily. That is that the final controlling thought is that America can be governed by psychology.

The 59.06-cent dollar is a good example of the working of the psychological trick. What is a 59.06-cent dollar? Why not a 60-cent dollar, or a 50-cent dollar (which is where it may yet go)? Answer—A 59.06-cent dollar is a good psychological trick.

The record of the First Year is filled with many such tricks. The gathering in of unheard of powers by the Executive branch, powers any number of which have not been used, some few of which have proved rather embarrassing, was a psychological trick "to show preparation" to meet a popular demand for action. It was that and nothing more. The President asked for the Darrow report. The asking for it was largely a gesture for popular approval. The answer — an unexpected bombshell — was juggled while the General, defensively, prepared some vituperation which carefully confuses the entire issue. The alphabetic symbolism of AAA, FACA, CSB, CCC, FDIC, ITPC, TVA, ECPC, etc., etc., to cover an expensive, if not dangerous, certainly uncontrollable, growth of bureaucracy, is yet one more attempt to produce a desired effect in the minds of the American people.

No other Administration has expended so much conscious effort to control and direct the psychology of individual groups and of the mass. A large portion of the Presidential secretariat devotes its time exclusively to this task. More than 100 ballyhoo artists are hired with the taxpayers' money to sell each new trick to the American public. It is a deeply moving thing to have an Administration so greatly concerned over the feelings and thoughts of each and every one of 126,000,000 citizens. It precludes the possibilities of the existence of a definite plan. It is the quintessence of successful ward politics.

One weapon which can be used against this form of rule, if we must have it, is to determine in advance the psychological objectives—there seem to be no others—for each new and unexplained act of the Administration.

In the time ahead there is going to be more need than ever to make the American people forget that there is a definite, clearly marked road upon which the car of state and government should be driven. Two sessions of Congress have been almost exclusively devoted to frantic widening of that road to accommodate a none too skilful driver, to make it appear that wherever the car may go, over state boundaries, across farms, even in Mack Sennett fashion through factory walls—*it's still the government highway.* Frightened back-seat drivers, becoming somewhat concerned over the expense of our joy ride, are told to stop crying "Wolf!".

Our last chauffeur, when the car began to get out of control, but still at least on the road, was criticized for lightening his touch on the controls in the hope that the mechanism would right itself. His successor has frozen to the controls and has received at least a partial mandate from a majority of his frightened passengers that from here on everything—everywhere the car may happen to go —will be called governmental right of way. It is an easy method of driving.

The way of proper government for a free people is a narrow and it can be a difficult way. It is a road between two blades of grass. All humility abandoned, we have not been on it for a long time. One of those on the front seat advising the driver sees a mirage and shouts encouragement to his fellow passengers. The whereabouts of the road which we have lost he tells us is not to the Right, not to the Left; it is not in the road district of Communism, nor yet of Capitalism, not of Fascism, nor Socialism. He sees the road for our mundane car in Heaven. His advice (the adviser is Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace) first delivered orally, now in print under the title of *"Statesmanship and Religion,"* has been called both "dotty religion stuff" and "the profoundest and most pregnant idea" since the days of the "Federalist." It may be either. It obviously can't be both. It is certainly propaganda, for its psychological objective is to justify—*in advance,* one more new direction. It is a weird and startling signpost to plant in the road between two blades of grass.—F. W.

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Economic War Reports

Compiled by E. H. Collins

American Front

A GOOD DEAL IS BEING HEARD from Washington these days about the need for stimulating foreign trade; and at least two moves in this direction have been recorded. One of these was the establishment of two foreign trade banks, for the purpose of encouraging trade with Russia and with Cuba; the other was the President's request for wider discretionary powers for modifying tariffs on a reciprocal basis.

Yet, for every gesture which Washington indulges toward the widening of our trade horizons, it has a way of taking two or three steps which work in the opposite direction. A little more than a year ago, just when world recovery was getting under way, it started the series of monetary maneuvers which culminated in the deliberate depreciation of the dollar. The effect of this, of course, was precisely as if we had raised our tariffs 40 or 50 per cent against the gold countries. Now, by our decision to go into the world markets and buy silver we are doing the same thing to China, the one great silver standard country. Nor has this been the only indication of our adherence, intentional or unintentional, to what one observer describes as the "economy of scarcity." By the Johnson bill, we have classed token-paying debtors as defaulters, and thus broadened the list of nations which can get no credit in this country; Secretary Wallace is threatening once more to demolish world markets for grain by dumping American wheat; and the Administration is girding its loins for a trade fight with Japan in Latin America. Truly, economic nationalism marches on!

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British Front

THE TRADE POSITION of Great Britain has become a curious mixture of favorable and unfavorable elements. Overseas trade in April, aided by the fact that there was one more working day in the month this year than last, was higher in the year, but there was a decline from the March figures. The April reduction in unemployment was 53,000, but in the two previous months the reduction was 116,000 and 70,000, and unemployment in the textile trades actually increased. One British expert declares that the April figures "point to a slowing down of industrial and commercial recovery." In the first quarter of 1934, imports increased 15½ per cent, compared with a rise of only 5.6 per cent in exports, and the excess of imports over exports increased by 33 per cent. The depreciated dollar and the more heavily depreciated yen helped to widen the gap between imports and exports. The factors unquestionably favorable in the British situation include a 70 per cent increase in exports to Soviet Russia since the new trade agreements came into effect and the approval given by the Treasury authorities to the flotation of a £5,000,000 loan for the Polish State Railways. Total Russian orders received by British interests in the first three months amounted to £2,226,317, spread over a number of different lines, including rubber goods, non-ferrous metals, machinery, steel, textiles and tea, and ship charterings were up forty-two in March, against twenty-six in March, 1933. Also, British trade in Palestine has improved notably incident to the influx of 50,000 Jews in the last year, many of them fleeing the Nazi terror. In contrast to the stagnation in the American capital market, new capital issues floated in Britain in April amounted to £9,500,000, up £2,500,000 in the month and £1,250,000 in the year.

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British Dominion Fronts

AUSTRALIA has found herself in an embarrassing situation in the trade war which is at length coming to a head between the Mother Country and Japan. On the one hand, Australia is unwilling to place her trade with Japan in jeopardy, since in this exchange of goods the Dominion comes off with a highly favorable balance. On the other hand, Australia is under few illusions as to the kind of customer she is dealing with, and therefore, simultaneously with the outbreak of open economic strife between England and Japan, we find George F. Pearce, Minister of Defense, ordering £345,000 worth of airplanes from a British concern and the government making known its intention to build up naval bases and dock yards and strengthen the fortification on the north coast facing Japan, developing it into a naval and air force base. Australian trade in the eight months ended February 28 yielded a favorable balance of £33,447,000, with gold bullion included, compared with foreign debt service requirements of £27,000,000 annually. In view of the large surplus of exports, the tariff board is studying the high protection laws to see which tariffs can be reduced. The fall in the exchange rate has greatly stimulated Australian gold production, last year's output rising to 820,000 ounces, the largest total since 1920, against 713,882 in 1932 and 595,123 in 1931. Canadian industrial production increased in April to a level 19 per cent higher than that of a year ago, but the prospect for continued improvement is dimmed because of the poor outlook for agriculture. Canada has been less successful in working out her agricultural problems than her sister Dominion, Australia.

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German Front

WITH THE LOSS in gold and foreign exchange continuing, Germany has made still more drastic the reduction in the quotas of foreign exchange allotted for imports. The May allowances were cut to 12½ per cent of the 1930-1931 figures, compared with the previous allotment of 17½ per cent. Since February, therefore, the decline in foreign exchange allotments for imports has been 50 per cent. Germany is still confident that she can bring the world to her point of view by cutting down on her purchases of raw materials. The German Institute for Business Research has prepared elaborate tables showing how important German imports are to the

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rest of the world. It is being pointed out that in 1931, for example, Germany bought 13.3 per cent of the world output of wool, 5.2 per cent of the silk, 6.4 per cent of the cotton, 15.4 per cent of the copper, 12.5 per cent of the zinc, 8.8 per cent of the tin, etc., while German imports amounted to 13.5 per cent of the Turkish exports, 10.5 per cent of those of Egypt, 8.3 per cent of the United States, 4.1 per cent of Australia, 8.6 per cent of Argentina, and so on. When American creditors at the long term debt conference in Berlin in May asked rather pointedly what Germany was doing to mollify foreign opinion of the Nazi policies, thereby making for a let-up in the boycotts of German goods, the answer was the announcement by Dr. Goebbels of an intensification of the anti-Semitic repression.

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French Front

THE KEY to the French economic situation is to be found in the fact that by the end of April the number of jobless on the dole had fallen to 334,000 from the peak of 351,000 at the close of February. Moreover, the Bank of France has begun to rebuild its gold stocks after the heavy losses of February, with gold coming in from Italy, Holland, Switzerland and England, as well as from domestic hoarders whose fears of a devaluation of the franc have been temporarily allayed. The investment market has begun to revive, and the unfavorable trade balance has been reduced by an important amount. For the first quarter exports were down only 44,000,000 francs in the year, but imports dropped 1,155,000,000 francs. The government has made a few moves to placate foreign opinion, for France, dependent as she is on ample tourist trade, needs to be held in good repute abroad. M. Doumergue has begun personally to study the American debt question to see whether some means can be found of bridging the differences between the two countries. Finance Minister Germain-Martin issued a statement saying that the "exaggeration of tariffs has caused unemployment in many exporting countries." This was taken to mean that the tariff policy might be changed to invite a greater exchange of goods with the rest of the world. Only such a "strong" government as that over which M. Doumergue presides could afford to be caught considering the debt and tariff questions. Four committees have been appointed to study methods of cutting the cost of living in France—a necessary preliminary to any attempt to win tourists back and to sell goods abroad. On the adverse side of the ledger can be named the continuing low level of domestic trade, as evidenced by the further decline in rail traffic, and the $1,089,000,000 armament budget, the largest in six years, which may possibly nullify the effect of the economy measures designed to protect the franc.

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Italian Front

IN AN EFFORT to bring Austria and Hungary as much into her economic orbit as they are already in her political orbit, Italy has negotiated eight trade agreements with her two Central European satellites. Italy has made considerable sacrifices to cement her economic relations with Hungary and Austria. She is giving up her lately-won self-sufficiency in wheat to admit 4,000,000 bushels of Hungarian wheat yearly at a higher price than that now prevailing, and from Austria Mussolini has agreed to buy more manufactured goods. In return for admitting 8,000,000 bushels of Hungarian grain annually, Austria is to get a favored position for some of her manufactures in Hungary. Though Italy's success in Austria and Hungary seems to have been got at a steep price, the arrangement is expected to have the effect of greatly diminishing German influence in the two countries and of halting the Nazi drive for more territory and influence in two strategic places. About all of the tangible benefit which Italy will get from the trade accords is a promise by Austria and Hungary to make greater use of Trieste and Fiume as seaports. It is believed that Austria and Hungary will apply special low tariffs to goods passing through these two ports. The difficulties which Italy is having in enforcing the decree for a reduction in the cost of living are large. Stores are being closed wholesale, vigilante groups are being formed, expulsions from the Fascist party are taking place and arrests of non-conformers are being made right and left. So alarmed is Signor Mussolini over his sizable budget deficit that he has not allowed Italian newspapers to allude to the British budget surplus.

Far Eastern Sector

AFTER A GOOD MANY THREATS of action, Great Britain has decided to impose quotas on Japanese imports to the British Isles and the crown colonies. This step was taken after Japan refused to restrict her exports of textiles to conform to the increase in world foreign trade. But Japan has not been thrown into consternation by the British policy, for by now it is clear that Britain must forge a more perfect weapon if Japanese trade aggression is to be curbed. The British policy may, in fact, have the effect of baring a cleavage of economic interest within the Empire rather than of presenting a united front to Japan. Britain bought about 88,000,000 yen of Japanese goods last year and sold about 82,000,000 yen of goods to Japan. Thus, as between the two countries, the one has as much to lose as the other. But in the British colonies and possessions Japan has some warm trade friends. Australia bought 51,416,000 yen of goods from Japan last year, whereas sales to Japan were 204,586,000 yen. While possessions like Bermuda and Trinidad were willing to go along with the Mother Country in the anti-Japanese policy, protests of varying degrees of sternness were heard from Australia, Hongkong, the Straits Settlements, Malta and Aden, and there was some doubt whether the quotas were applicable to Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. The attitude of Canada and New Zealand was not clear. Nevertheless, the British were not inclined to stand idly by while Lancashire was crowded entirely out of Empire markets by trade-hungry Japan. It appeared not at all unlikely that the United States might soon be driven to consider the adopting of a course similar to that Britain has taken. Japanese exports to Central and South America in the last three years have increased from 100 to 1,000 per cent, compared with a shrinkage of 50 per cent for American exports to those regions in the same period.

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Latin American Sector

INDICATIONS CONTINUE to accumulate that economic recovery is gaining headway over large areas in South America. Chile, not long ago prostrate, shows stirrings of life, with nitrate exports on the upswing; and the Chilean government is taking steps to regularize the status of its heavy debt to foreign

(*Continued on page* 64)

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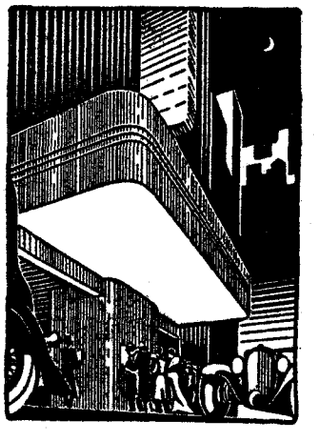

To See or Not to See

By Cy Caldwell

Jig Saw *Comedy by Dawn Powell. Presented by The Theatre Guild, Inc.*

Serious gentlemen with large bulging foreheads probably will become mildly annoyed with Jig Saw before it finally ambles along to a foregone conclusion, but for the more easily diverted of the theatre's patrons it will serve. It has many flashes of audacious wit, good artificial characterization in the theatrical penthouse manner, a generally breezy and entertaining if occasionally forced line of patter, and expert acting by such polished commanders of good comedy as Ernest Truex, Spring Byington, and Cora Witherspoon. There is so much good writing, so much good fun in spots, especially in the earlier spots, that it becomes rather disappointing to watch the little comedy wear thinner and thinner as the evening progresses. But after all, there is only so much that you can do with three principal characters when you use all of the other characters in your comedy merely for atmosphere and casual comments.

Miss Spring Byington portrays the flighty unmoral blonde mother whose daughter Julie (Gertrude Flynn) returns from a French convent to learn that mother is the mistress of a Baltimore married man (Ernest Truex) and is about to add to her retinue a young man (Bruce Cabot) whom she casually picked up at a wedding breakfast. But Julie had seen him first, in France, and she proceeds to rescue him from mother's snares, while the Baltimore married man waits with more or less patience to have mother returned to him—by which time she has her acquisitive eye on still another victim. It becomes something of a problem to keep this tiny pot of plot bubbling; and often enough it merely simmers while the characters make bright remarks to each other about this and that.

●

The Crime Doctor *RKO-Radio*

Here is a fascinating picture to watch, a tense and thrilling murder story wherein the perfect crime is accomplished by a famous sleuth who is also a jealous husband. The story is adapted from Israel Zangwill's The Big Bow Mystery and makes an intriguing and suspenseful picture. The less you know about its plot the better you'll enjoy it. If you like studies in cinema murder, here's a dandy. Otto Kruger gives an exciting performance; and Karen Morley, Nils Asther, and an excellent cast make every character stand out. It is first rate entertainment, although you may find the ending rather unsatisfactory. But if you don't know the ending in advance it won't spoil your enjoyment of the picture.

●

Stevedore *Play by Paul Peters and George Sklar. Presented by the Theatre Union, Inc.*

Stevedore is a highly exciting, vigorous melodrama of race hatreds and race riots along the New Orleans waterfront; and it is acted for all it is worth by a cast composed largely of Negro players, who act from the heart out, with a sincerity and a naturalness that is vastly moving. While the play is frankly a story of union activities, playing up the persecuted black man and giving the South and its institutions of social injustice a severe trouncing, it is far more than mere propaganda. It is a thrilling, compelling, vitally alive drama of Negro life, burning with passion, tormented by the sorrows of a childish, pathetic race striving to push itself upward from a state of forced and degrading servility. There is a splendid ring of truth to the characterizations and to the play itself.

Very briefly, the story revolves around the misfortunes of a Negro stevedore, an able, honest, thinking, courageous fellow, framed for an assault on a white woman because he is endeavoring to unionize Negro dock workers. This stevedore, arrested on the trumped-up charge, escapes from the police and a mob of white trash bent on lynching him. He hides among his people, incites them to fight back and protect their poor homes from brutal invasion. In the final scene organized white labor rushes to the rescue of the beleaguered blacks, somewhat after the manner of the United States Marines in older melodramas. You may not believe all of this, but it makes a grand show.

●

The Milky Way *Comedy by Lynn Root and Harry Clork. Presented by Sidney Harmon and James R. Ullman*

Compared to She Loves Me Not and Sailor Beware this one is only a second rate comedy, steadily amusing and entertaining, but never hilarious. Compared, however, to the string of unfortunate strivings for humor which have saddened the past season, it is a jolly and thoroughly likable affair. I'd say go and see it if you can be entertained by an unpretentious little lark among the prize-fighters. But don't expect too much, or you'll be disappointed; this is the sort of comedy that you must meet half way: if you're not in the laughing mood it may annoy you. I wish that I could honestly write more enthusiastically, for I enjoyed it myself; but the truth is that The Milky Way labors and pants every now and then, and you have to help it with the tolerance that should be part of the make-up of every good theatregoer.

Hugh O'Connell as a timid milkman receives credit for knocking out a prize-fighter (Brian Donlevy) who actually had been knocked out in a drunken brawl by his sparring partner (William Foran). Hugh's manager (Leo Donnelly) decides to make O'Connell, a pacifistic deliverer of Borden's milk, into a fighter. How O'Connell, through a series of lucky breaks, becomes a champion of the sport ennobled by Mrs. Hearst's milk fund makes an engaging little comedy that I recommend to you if you're in the mood for that sort of thing.

●

Thirty Day Princess *Paramount*

Thirty Day Princess is a jolly and amusing romantic comedy about a Princess from Taronia who comes to the United States to create favorable publicity for a bond issue, but unfortunately gets the mumps. In real life, of course, it is the investor in foreign bonds who gets the mumps and the megrims, while Mr. Morgan gets the commission. Deciding that a substitute Princess must be shown to the public, banker Gresham has detectives search New York for an actress who resembles the Princess. They find Nancy Lane (Sylvia Sidney) and set her on the trail of the city's most influential newspaper publisher, whose delight it has been to bait big bad bankers. This publisher hasn't any more chance of escaping Nancy than a little tailor has of escaping General Johnson and the NRA. Well, there are a lot of complications and funny situations which add up to a pretty good time if you enjoy light comedy. Miss Sidney is fine in a dual role, and Cary Grant, Edward Arnold, Vince Barnett, Henry Stephenson and others render good support. J. P. Morgan should see this picture: its comedy ideas may help him to sell some more Peruvian bonds.

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Tarzan and His Mate *Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer*

When I enthusiastically recommend this picture, I fear that some of the deeper thinkers will write in and chide me for becoming somewhat childish in my old age. Well, this picture is a good tonic for your less mental and more emotional moments, a mighty entertaining picture for those of us who still retain some of the savage instincts of our youth. Of course, the romance between Tarzan (Johnny Weissmuller) and Jane (Maureen O'Sullivan) is rather tedious and hard to bear, but the rest of the picture is a sheer joy, a laughably thrilling collection of cinema nonsense and high adventure, packed with action, fighting, and possibly too gruesome doses of sudden death. This is life in the jungle as a small boy knows it should be lived, and as it *would* be lived if Nature was as obliging as the camera.

We see Tarzan calling herds of elephants to battle with dozens of infuriated lions, see him wrestling with a lion, riding on a rhinoceros, and fighting what undoubtedly was a rubber crocodile. We see him, or his double, doing trapeze stunts through the jungle trees, tossing Miss O'Sullivan through the air to be caught by a gorilla who was swinging by his toes from another trapeze. Some of the acrobatic apes rather obviously are Hollywood extras disguised by skins, but they're no more unbelievable than Huey Long. Brilliantly directed by Cedric Gibbons, the picture is a movie natural, one of the swellest entertainments of the year for thrill and laugh fans.

●

No Greater Glory *Columbia*

Ably adapted by Jo Swerling from Ferenc Molnar's novel The Paul Street Boys, with fine direction by Frank Borzage and sincere performances by a group of boys, No Greater Glory is a distinguished picture, tender, moving, powerful. It is definitely one of the best pictures of the year, a poignant story of a child's world, rich in pathos and understanding. It tells of the struggle of two groups of Budapest boys for the possession of a vacant lot; the group of older boys bully the group of smaller boys, who are a courageous lot, prepared to defend themselves against superior numbers. The youngest of this group is a delicate, sensitive child, named Nemecsek (George Breakston). Discovered by the older boys when spying on their headquarters, he hides in a pool, catches cold, and next day while endeavoring to retrieve his little army's flag from the enemy, he is captured and ducked in a pond. When the two groups arrange to have a battle for the possession of the lot, Namecsek is ill in bed with pneumonia. In a delirium he gets up, dresses himself, slips from the house, runs to the battlefield, and there, after a desperate feat of valor, he dies. In this picture of childhood, the horror and tragedy of adult warfare is mirrored in all its futility and sorrow. Old soldiers, now the fathers of growing boys, will understand No Greater Glory in all its implications, will feel the clutch of fear and apprehension at their hearts. For all our fighting and our sacrifices, we have made the world no safer for our sons.

●

We're Not Dressing *Paramount*

Not bad, not good, this is the sort of amiable little program musical where you toss up a coin to decide whether to see it or stay home and go to bed. Bing Crosby sings a few numbers in his usual style, which is said to entrance millions of listeners; Burns and Allen indulge in the insanities that many people find amusing; and Leon Errol and Ethel Merman are afforded only slight opportunities. The story is about an heiress (Carole Lombard) on her yacht with a couple of Georgian princes intent upon marrying her, but Mr. Crosby gradually wins her after a rather plodding routine romance on a desert island on which Leon Errol had wrecked the ship. Some day I hope to view a musical in which the heroine indignantly refuses to marry the crooner or the song writer, sensibly preferring to live and die an old maid.

●

Stand Up and Cheer *Fox Film*

Will Rogers suggested the idea for this musical, which contends that what the country needs is a national dictator of amusements who will see to it that we laugh our way back to prosperity. Unfortunately, the picture isn't nearly so funny as the New Deal itself, so it rather misses fire. The producers were handicapped by having to employ actors instead of some of the political comedians at present cavorting about Washington. Warner Baxter has to pinch-hit for the amusement dictator, but he hasn't the verve and vivacity of a Tugwell or a Wallace; and Miss Madge Evans is a poor substitute for Miss Perkins. On the whole, I was disappointed; Washington puts on a better show. There are some genuinely good bits in this picture contributed by Mitchell and Durante, Stepin Fetchit, a child named Shirley Temple, and an unidentified gentleman whose name, I am told, is Skins Miller. He sings a burlesque hill-billy number that is a comedy masterpiece. His performance makes up for much dull and dismal material in this film, which finally manages to lose itself completely in a dreary climax which uses hundreds of marching extras, all singing their dubious way to prosperity. Like the present Administration, Stand Up And Cheer is rather obstreperous, often annoying, and probably cost more than it's worth.

●

Manhattan Melodrama *Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer*

Manhattan Melodrama opens with the *General Slocum* disaster, tells the gripping story of two orphaned boys, one of whom (Clark Gable) becomes a big-shot gambler while the other (William Powell) becomes District Attorney, and finally governor of the State. The gambler's mistress (Myrna Loy) becomes the District Attorney's wife. On the eve of the election Powell is threatened with slander, which Gable silences by killing the man who would have exposed the wife's former relations with the gambler. Gable is tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, largely through the efforts of his boyhood friend, the District Attorney who, now elected to the governorship, offers to pardon his old friend. The picture works up into several tense and gripping sequences, but it seems to me that it goes rather uncomfortably noble on us toward the last; I cannot believe that politicians and gamblers are so self-sacrificing, outside of the cinema. However, it is a stirring and intensely interesting melodrama without a dull moment in it.

●

20 Million Sweethearts *First National*

Here's a pleasant and fairly amusing little musical picture that will serve to while away an hour or so, even though you know every move that is coming next. Pat O'Brien as a bumptious radio scout discovers a tenor (Dick Powell), who wins national popularity and the affection of Miss Ginger Rogers. Allen Jenkins, Joseph Cawthorn, Grant Mitchell and Pat O'Brien supply the comedy, which pokes amiable fun at the broadcasting studios. The Four Mills Brothers and Ted Fiorito's orchestra offer what is politely called music. Well, you know what these things are, as well as I do. This is another one of them.

●

Twentieth Century *Columbia*

Adapted by authors Charles MacArthur and Ben Hecht from their Broadway comedy success of last season, Twentieth Century is mighty good screen entertainment, as comedy pictures go, but it falls far short of the stage play as a laugh getter. We never are able to laugh as heartily at a mechanical photographic reproduction on a screen as we are at actual people on a stage; the play won ten hearty laughs where the picture wins one, and with almost the same lines and situations, after the opening sequences. After all, a motion picture is merely a series of photographs, having no closer relationship to life than any other photographs, still or moving. We've seen so many excellent pictures that we tend to forget this; it takes a translated stage comedy to remind us that a good movie is more entertaining than a bad play, but that a good play is better than the best movie. Hollywood, if that be treason, make the most of it.

With John Barrymore as Oscar Jaffe, the fantastic theatrical producer (a combination of Morris Gest, the late David Belasco, and possibly Josef von Sternberg) Twentieth Century is a grand lark, an actor's holiday for the talented Mr. Barrymore in his most theatrical role to date. As Lily Garland Miss Carole Lombard is pretty good, but I wish that the producers had engaged Miss Eugenie Leontovich for the role which she played with so much success in the Broadway production. Roscoe Karns does his best with a part which William Frawley played immeasurably better; and Walter Connolly remains Walter Connolly when he was supposed to be something else. As the amiable lunatic Etinne Girardot achieves the same expert characterization which delighted New York in the stage production. This is Mr. Barrymore's picture, and he makes the most of his opportunity. I liked him even better than I liked Moffat Johnston in the stage play; and I also admired Howard Hawks' smash direction. But somehow the picture was a disappointment to me; good though it is, it should have been better.

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In Search of a Youth Movement

By William E. Berchtold

Can there be a youth movement in America? We talk about it, mostly in the month of June. Where is it? Who and what can make it? These are the questions which the writer seeks to answer.

IF America fails to provide even lip service to the notion of a youth movement during the other eleven months of the year, June finds its virtues sung in full, well-rounded, whole notes from a thousand Commencement platforms in schools and colleges throughout the country. This year the Commencement orators can be expected to produce a bumper crop of impassioned pleas for a "vital, virile youth movement in our national life to attack political corruption and effect social reforms which will insure a richer life for a world dedicated to peace."

University presidents, not too well satisfied with the results attained by their own declining generation; middle-aged business men, still smarting from disillusionment in a confused world; and politicians, with waning hopes for a society fashioned after their own image, turn to youth with pleas that they furnish the leadership necessary for a better ordered society. Men growing old have traditionally vested their hopes in the younger generation. The advice from elders—whether it is advice on morals or politics—usually comes, however, after the elders are no longer capable of setting a bad example for youth.

America has never had a youth movement worthy of the name, unless we go back to the days of those youthful revolutionists who became tired of the tyranny of an old ruler of empire and brought the United States into being, only to surround it with every safeguard against any succeeding "youth movements" of similar proportions.

The American Revolution and the French Revolution were youth movements of first ranking importance. Youth is again active today in Germany, Italy, Russia, China, India and Cuba.

Can the United States expect the younger generation, as a homogeneous unit, to take an increasingly important part in our national political life? The Commencement orators would have us believe that our national salvation lies along some such path, but each conjures up a vision of youth squarely behind his pet panacea, whether it is labeled internationalism, nationalism, communism, capitalism, fascism or some other *"ism."* There is a great deal to be said for the idea of placing youth in the saddle, but the elders who so glibly let pleas for a "youth movement" slip through their beards may find that they are due to receive more than they had bargained for if youth takes their notions seriously.

There has been little genuine age-consciousness among youth in America, disagreements between young and their elders being limited to such superficialities as a revolt against the hypocritical puritanism of the older generation. The whole social structure has been erected to insure the domination of the old over youth, and it is only when that domination becomes unbearable tyranny that the younger generation is apt to consider itself as a homogeneous group at odds with its elders. Since the superior wisdom of the old is drilled into the young from the cradle to maturity, youth naturally permits itself to be ruled by its elders as long as it believes in their superior powers. When the young get a bit older, they are already looking forward to the time when they will be practising instead of being taken in by this deception, and so refrain from exploding the notion. The only serious threat to this natural process of development from the deceived to the deceiver comes when youth has cause to believe that its path is being blocked by obstacles which don't even promise a sporting chance for it ultimately to reach the seats of the mighty. When this natural disillusionment, which normally comes in middle age, is moved ahead to become an experience of youth, the lid is apt to be blown off with the force of a full grown youth movement.

If the United States has the raw material for such a movement today it is to be found in the 3,000,000 young men and women between the ages of 16 and 25 who have neither jobs nor schools to occupy their time. Most of this raw material, however, must still be classed as that of rugged, although somewhat ragged, individualism. Their heads are still buzzing with the school-book tales of great fortunes made by poor men in an America of unlimited opportunity. The fact that the frontiers of territorial and business expansion (where most of those fortunes were made) no longer exist has made little impression upon them. Such facts were not emphasized during the years they spent in school and they still cling to the most brilliant pictures of this land of opportunity, waiting for a propitious moment to knock on the door which they feel certain will be opened unto them as it was to their fathers before them.

Only a small portion of this band of 3,000,000 young Americans without jobs or schools have appeared on relief

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roles or in the ranks of the CCC. Even those who shovel snow or gather leaves on some temporary relief job maintain the outlook of an embryo capitalist whose path to fortune has been blocked by an unscheduled avalanche which, while disconcerting, is not insurmountable. The New Deal has provided a kind of mystic faith to fortify them against complete disillusionment as they lean on their rakes or shovels and consider the future. But they cannot maintain this outlook indefinitely. They must be dealt some face cards soon or they will entertain a growing conviction that their rakes and shovels are to be with them always. These 3,000,000 youths are inarticulate and leaderless today, but they are thinking and talking. Their thoughts and speech, however, cannot be poured into the conveniently labeled *"ism"* moulds of their elders. They are, as might be expected from their years of training in a capitalistic educational system, rugged individualists at heart, but preparing to face their worst fears should that be necessary.

The notion of revolution, which so badly upset the Wirtian viscera and sent Congress scampering to look under the bed, is viewed by surprisingly wide sections of the youthful population with a detached objectivity which would shock the older generation should it be able to gain youth's confidence. As one young Depression-year graduate of an American university said recently: "Most of us feel, being slightly romantic, that if one vote or one oration or one tremendous self-sacrifice of ours would make the great inarticulate masses articulate for five minutes, no herd of wild horses could hold us back. However, we have too much of the blood of Sancho to believe that such an eventuality will arise." Youth in America is becoming cynical, fatalistic, defeatist; but it hides its emotions behind a mask that saves the older generation the pain of realizing that its orthodox advice is being taken with great handfuls of salt. While revolution holds little or no fears for a large section of the younger generation, only relatively small groups are so naïve as to believe that any new *"ism"* would prove any better should it reach the seat of power through a cataclysmic upheaval. This defeatist attitude, if it is not dissolved by a normal resumption of the old process of giving the deceived a sporting chance of becoming in time the deceiver, can lead to positive action and the spontaneous development of a youth movement only if the economic pressure continues to become so unbearable that youth can see no avenue open to it other than to unhorse its elders.

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It is a common error of those who speculate on the likelihood of a youth movement in America to point with an expansive gesture to the experiences which the younger generation have undergone in Russia, Italy and Germany and to insist that American experience will follow the same pattern. There are too few attempts to analyze the widely varying factors which were responsible for the organization or regimentation of youth in those countries. Each has had a background widely different from anything in America, yet all have had common denominators which might touch the American scene.

The 5,000,000 Russian youngsters who today compose the Communist Youth Associations were originally banded together for the "promotion of culture" as a part of the regimentation plan of the Soviet dictatorship, thereby insuring a permanent sanction from an important section of the population through the indoctrination of communism into the younger generation. The notion of "social reconstruction" was later added to the original purpose of the movement, so that now the organization functions wherever The Plan is in danger. While many of the revolutionists who followed Kerensky and later Lenin were young, not youth but class was the dominating factor. The youth movement, as represented by the Communist Youth Associations, came afterward, serving as a cleverly devised instrument for the regimentation of the younger generation behind the dictator.

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Mussolini's support for his march on Rome was recruited from the ranks of young Italian soldiers returning from a badly managed war to face the excesses of a decadent parliament and the disappointments of an unsatisfactory peace. The Italian youth of 1922 held nothing but contempt for the notions of individual liberty which the Garibaldis and Mazzinis considered the foundation stones of modern Italy. Young Italy, faced with the growing difficulty of providing bread for a constantly expanding population, was weaned away from the cult of the individual almost over night.

Germany's youth movement, unlike Russia's, was sponsored by revolt rather than reconstruction; unlike Italy's, it was recruited from the youth who crowded schools and colleges of the republic after the Armistice and who could not be absorbed through normal employment when their education was completed. Thousands of the restless, unemployed young Germans who had roamed the countryside as members of the Youth Hostel Association (an organization started before the World War to encourage outdoor life and which acquired a political tinge in later years) were quick to organize under the emotional appeal of Hitler. They constitute Germany's militant Nazi Youth Movement today. The republic had offered them nothing tangible, nor were they anxious to return to the old order under the monarchy. Hitlerism was an emotional cult which furnished an outlet for expression of their Prussian tradition, yet promised to push on into new fields of exploitation in which youth felt it had an opportunity to become the exploiter instead of the exploited.

Cuba's youth movement, which finally rose above years of persecution at the hands of Gerardo Machado to place a student directorate of nine with ages ranging from 19 to 27 years into power, is centered in the educated minority, rather than in the masses of Cuban youth. It took root in the University of Havana, students and youthful professors fomenting revolution within the shadow of the Cuban capitol dome. Supported by young intellectuals and alumni of the university, it grew faster when Machado sought to grind the movement beneath his heel by closing all educational institutions and clubs. Young Cuba sought to overthow its oppressor. It was only logical that the student directorate, once it reached supreme power, should chose a youthful professor, Grau San Martin, as president. As

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the student directorate learned, however, it is quite one thing to achieve power through revolution and quite another to retain that power unchallenged by other ambitious *blocs*. But the future of Cuba's youth movement remains in the hands of an educated minority which has made politics its bread and its wine.

While the experience in foreign countries most certainly points to the power of regimented youth once it strikes out on the march behind a leader who has given expression to its once inarticulate discontent, it is not likely that any of the foreign brands of dogma will suit the tastes of American youth. If any of the notions supported by youth abroad were to be taken up on a national scale in the United States, they would almost certainly be stripped of their foreign names and symbolism. The Youth Movement in America would most likely have its "Great Cause" backed by a brand of 100 per cent Americanism, ruthless and intolerant although it might be, which would make the D.A.R. and the S.A.R. brand of patriotism seem as weak as pink lemonade at the circus.

Aside from the perennially active groups advocating communism or socialism, there are no signs of organizing the great mass of American youth who have been endowed with no more than an elementary or high school education. Politics, except for such mild, formalized discussions as may be a part of the high school curriculum in civics classes, has never occupied the attention of those youths who finish their education in high schools. Can the youth of the United States expect the students and alumni of its universities and colleges to furnish the leadership which anything approaching a national movement would command?

Perhaps no youthful group in the world has been traditionally more apathetic to politics than the American college student. He has looked upon the study of government as the piling up of so many necessary units toward a degree and concludes, when he reaches voting age, that politics is a rotten business which can hardly be made to smell sweeter through his puny contributions of black crosses in white spaces on a cut-and-dried ballot. Once out of college he looks back upon his student days, at his professors and the students now on the campus with mild contempt. He feels as though he has finally escaped from a needlessly prolonged infantilism and seeks to adjust himself in the adult world of business and industry by putting aside such childish things as he learned in college. If he speaks at all of the notions of government or economics or sociology which he studied in college it is with an air of apology. If he felt that he was an ardent progressive while in college, he finds himself changing into a rock-ribbed conservative as he loses his hair and expands his waistline and his bank account.

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This all holds true only so long as the graduates of succeeding classes are absorbed into business and industry and are inspired by the sporting chance of reaching the seats of the mighty.

Prolonged unemployment, such as the members of the last four graduating classes have experienced, is apt to change this traditional viewpoint of the college graduate. The tens of thousands who have failed to be absorbed by business and industry since 1929 appear on no roster of the unemployed for they have never been employed, nor are many of them on relief roles or in the ranks of the CCC.

They have patiently bided their time waiting for the economic hurricane to subside, but as they wait they are beginning to wonder whether they are not the real "lost generation." Their rugged individualism is fraying a bit and they are watching the straws in the wind to learn from which quarter they may expect a leader whom they can follow, albeit without losing their individualistic composure should the hurricane suddenly subside and the sun shine again on the old *laissez faire* world. Can they find that leadership or outlet for expression which they seek in the organizations now active on college campi throughout the country?

Washington had an opportunity to see several of the strongest groups which aspire to head up a national youth movement in action during the week prior to the opening of Congress. The National Conference on Students in Politics brought together eleven liberal, radical, pacifist and religious college organizations. This hybrid group, with all shades of red and pink and a dash of red-white-and-blue in its composition, held together long enough to pass resolutions against the R.O.T.C., racial discrimination, and retrenchment in education and to approve another meeting next year. The Communist-minded National Student League formulated a tidy list of protests after a few rounds of soap box oratory. The Socialist-controlled Student League for Industrial Democracy, whose patron saint is Norman Thomas, drew up its share of protests, picketed a Washington merchant who refused to employ Negroes and marched to the White House to protest against compulsory military training. The National Student Federation of America, composed chiefly of "respectable" campus politicians, called at the White House too, albeit with flowers (not protests) for the First Lady of the Land.

Formed at Princeton in 1925 as a student movement behind the World Court, the National Student Federation only recently turned its attention to political action and was quickly taken to the bosom of the New Deal when it convened in Washington. It has chosen a "center course" for its leadership of the youth movement, cleverly recognizing that parents, faculty members and most "respectable" students who may not have moulted their coats of rugged individualism completely can find a happier communion of minds in that atmosphere at this time.

The Campus Bourbons of the National Student Federation were told that "a true youth movement must be a new, vital, adventurous approach to the potentialities of the coming age." Those words came from Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace who characterized the New Deal as just such a "youth movement," but indicated that it could not be wholly successful until the youth of the country grew up to "go in and take possession of the Promised Land." Needless to say, the Secretary did not advocate the immediate assumption of this power through the overthrowing of the older generation. Parts of his address, comparing the New Dealers with those who led the children of Israel out of Egypt, are really worth quoting here. They are worthy of June Commencement oratory.

"When the 40,000 undisciplined slaves, known as the children of Israel, left

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Egypt it was possible for them to reach the Promised Land within a few months. But they were not fit to go in and take possession, because the older generation thought of everything in terms of the flesh pots of Egypt. It was necessary for the younger generation, hardened by travels in the wilderness, to come to maturity before the Promised Land could be possessed. . . . We have left the flesh pots of Egypt. We are on our way. The Promised Land is at hand, and the only question is whether the older generation is fitted to go in and take possession.

"The men who have proposed the New Deal, I fear, are in somewhat the same situation as those who led the children of Israel out of Egypt. Probably they will not live to see you people, the youth, come into the Promised Land, but they can send out spies to determine its nature and can stand with the Lord on the mountain before they die and speculate concerning the possibilities."

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Needless to say, the National Student Federation approved a plan to form NRA clubs throughout the country and loudly applauded a proposal of Secretary of Commerce Roper's for "a laboratory of leadership in public affairs" to which university students would be sent to study government in Washington under the microscope with such wise old hands as Cabinet members and Congressmen to act as professors. No doubt, Senator Long would make a good dean for the new institution.

While the Communist-minded National Student League and the Socialist-controlled Student League for Industrial Democracy were winding up their Washington meeting by sticking their tongues out at each other, the National Student Federation became embroiled in a heated discussion as to whether three Negro delegates should be permitted to attend the Conference dance. Although liberalism finally triumphed, the whole demonstration emphasized the picayunish pettiness of the so-called college leadership offered to the vast body of American youth.

Most of the organizations now active in universities and colleges have some international flavor. The League of Nations, which Italian and German youth look upon as the supreme expression of puritan hypocrisy, still holds a certain fascination for most of the American youth groups. The notion of revolution to achieve international ends, while advocated by the Left Wing minority, has never been taken seriously enough to stimulate the growth of its complementary reaction, namely, an active, nationalistic group ready to march with fascistic ardor and to prepare to administer the usual castor oil to the university "radicals." No one should overlook the fact that revolutionary talk breeds ardently nationalistic fascists (although they would never be called that in America) faster than it does internationally minded socialists.

Anyone who will set out to search for the long-heralded youth movement in America, as I have, will be apt to conclude that there is none worthy of the name. If such a movement ever gains headway, it is not likely that university presidents, clergy, politicians, or Commencement orators who advocated it will find it to their own liking. They would most likely be swept before it, horrified in the realization that the canned dogmas which they had dished out to the younger generation were not to be a part of youth's own plan.

The real answer to the question of the likelihood of a youth movement in America lies in the final appraisal of the New Deal by the 3,000,000 young men and women between the ages of 16 and 25 now without jobs or opportunities for schooling. That appraisal is bound to be based on whether the New Deal offers them opportunities at least as good as those which the cult of rugged individualism offered their fathers before the frontiers of territorial and business expansion were closed.

If the New Deal fails, youth will be apt to take some stock in the appraisal of its elders after the fashion of the British philosopher, C. E. M. Joad, who says: "All over the world old and disagreeable people tyrannize over young and agreeable ones. Having for the most part lived their own lives, they have nothing left to do but interfere with the lives of others. They form the governments, misrepresent the people whom they oppress, preach to the people whom they exploit, and teach the people whom they deceive. They make laws which they have no temptation to disobey and wars in which they do not propose to fight." He would staff the diplomatic service with men under 35 and permit no man to hold public office after he has reached 40.

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If the New Deal succeeds, the notions for a youth movement will remain no more than the oratorical star dust out of which Commencement addresses are fashioned at this season of the year. Youth will continue to be contented with some peaceful, although ethereal, method of improving government such as President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University advanced to the graduating class in a recent Depression year. He called for an "improvement of human nature" as the method of achieving better government: "It is a far cry across the years from Pericles and Alcibiades, from Cicero and Metternich, to Disraeli and Gladstone and Bismarck, to Clay and Jackson, to Webster and Lincoln, but the human nature which faced them one and all was substantially the same. They became masters of men, each in his time and place, because they had instinctive insight into human nature and instinctive grasp upon it. What sort of human nature shall we offer to our politician that the endless adventure (the government of men) may go forward on a constantly ascending plane of ideals and excellence? The answer must come from the educated youth of the land who go out year by year from college and university to face a future which must, in large part, be of their own making. For each one of these youth life itself, like government, will be an endless adventure."

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One on the Way In

Forces, neither touched nor consciously directed, in current programs for the relief of farming are creating a new industry on the American farm. Mr. Hollander discusses the development and the future of this new industry, now definitely on the way in.

By Michael Hollander

THE cow, the sow and the little red hen were, for a time, life savers for the farmer. When all else failed, these so-called "cash crops" of the farm brought in at least a dribble of coin of the realm. But here and there, among the farmers, another cash crop has been helping to replenish the home till. Its importance, demonstrated in time of adversity, is increasing and will continue to increase. I refer to the fox, the mink and the muskrat, not to mention a dozen or more other wild fur-bearers that are being trapped and bred by farmers today. Thousands of farmers are finding their economic salvation in catering to women's demands for furs of every description. And I venture to say that, as time goes on, this new cash crop will assume proportions that will make it a respectable competitor of the better known livestock of the farm.

In the last several decades a great change has come over the fur industry. Furs have become increasingly popular. Fashion has even made the summer use of furs a recognized style accessory. But Nature has been unable to meet the demands that Fashion has made on her. Each year more furs are consumed. But each year wild life decreases. The outcome is a condition which bids fair to work revolutionary changes on a great many farms—changes which have been taken into account by few economists, real or pseudo.

As a matter of fact, it may be found, in years to come, that woman's demand for furs proved to be the salvation of the farmer. Already there are thousands of farmers who have bettered their positions through sensible catering to fashion's call. Each year these farmers have increased in number. And, unless all signs point in the wrong direction, more and more tillers of the soil will add to their annual income by "tilling" nature's wild life.

To the student of economics, of social changes, of farm life—to women who wear furs and to the man who pays the bill—this change that is slowly but surely coming over the farm should be of more than passing interest. It is of particularly timely importance now in view of the problems which remain to be worked out in the nation's farm life.

Like so many other changes, this one relates back to the chemist and his mysterious compounds, plus secret processes, plus a craftsman's skill that is frequently handed down from father to son. I am now referring to the fur dressing and dyeing industry. It is another case of necessity being the mother of invention. More and more women wanted furs. Fewer and fewer natural furs were available. The chemist promptly got busy and, with his magic, made it possible to treat and dye the pelts of animals which previously had been little used.

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For example, the muskrat is known today as the king of fur bearing animals. To women, the muskrat is best known as Hudson Seal, which is dyed muskrat. The technical story of how muskrat becomes Hudson Seal is too detailed to permit relating here. But it is pertinent to note that some 50,000 Hudson Seal coats are sold in this country each year. There are approximately 50 muskrat skins in each coat, so that for this purpose alone some 2,500,000 pelts are required.

This is only one instance of how the fur dresser and dyer takes one type of skin and turns it into another type. So well does this industry meet the demands of women that fur dressing and dyeing today is one of the country's larger industries, employing thousands of workers and with an annual volume running up into many millions.

And thus we come back to the farmer. Note the chain of events. Women wanted more furs. The furs they wanted were not available from nature's storehouse in the required quantities. Man coöperated with nature and, through fur dressing and dyeing produced in Hudson Seal—as a single example—a fur which will serve every ordinary purpose of natural seal. And then the farmer entered the picture.

Muskrats are native to most parts of the United States. They prefer marsh land, the banks of streams, shallow ponds and rivers, and tidal basins. They are perhaps the most prolific of all rodents. Although millions—sometimes more than 12,000,000 are trapped each year—their numbers seem not to diminish. The muskrat now heads the list of fur bearers in this country.

For years, the muskrat was a pest, so far as most farmers were concerned. They burrow into and destroy irrigation canals and ditches. They destroy corn and other

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grains. They attack garden crops. In Louisiana it is a recognized pest on the rice plantations. It burrows in the embankments, thus flooding or draining the fields at the wrong time, and often feeds on the growing crop and breaks down the plants. Mill dams, ice ponds and river levees are subject to injury from these animals. Most canal and irrigation companies find it profitable to employ watchmen to patrol the embankments to look for muskrat burrows. Even railway embankments have been destroyed by the burrowing habits of the muskrat.

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That's one side of the picture. The other side has to do with the way in which the muskrat has helped many a farmer to obtain an extra income during, and on a smaller scale even before, the Depression. Muskrats are not suspicious and are easily trapped. As a consequence, just as the farmer's wife has frequently been superintendent of the hen house, so has the farmer's son become chief muskrat trapper. If breeding conditions are favorable it is almost impossible to exterminate muskrats. They breed best on land which is of little if any use for farming purposes. They feed on the acquatic vegetation which grows in swamp land. The Department of Agriculture is authority for the statement: *"Acre for acre, marsh areas devoted to muskrats will yield as much revenue from the fur as will the best neighboring arable land from cultivated crops, and in some cases even more."*

This same Department of Agriculture bulletin continues: "Muskrats are not raised under conditions similar to those needed by domestic animals. The marsh, itself, produces the necessary food, and there the muskrats feed and breed. When the trapping season comes around, the owner traps, or if he does not care to do even this, he employs professional trappers. When the season is over, he returns to his attitude of watchful waiting, while his muskrats take care of themselves and by their prolificacy produce enough young to make the next trapping season profitable. *In view of the increasing popularity of muskrat fur, the animals should receive their full share of attention in any agricultural plan of land utilization."*

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That sentence, it seems to me, harbors a world of significance. It has been announced that the Government plans to take millions of acres of so-called marginal land out of agricultural production. Some of these millions of acres will be used for reforestration purposes. But the problem of putting this marginal land to practical and profitable use remains a serious problem of the first magnitude. But I wonder whether woman, with her demand for furs and more furs, may not be furnishing the answer to this problem. I wonder whether Fashion and Nature may not jointly be put to work in developing a solution to this and other problems of the farm.

Many farmers have taken too literally the description of themselves as tillers of the soil. The farmer has looked with too astigmatic an eye to one source of income—an income derived from that which grows out of the ground. Or, where he has looked elsewhere it has been in the direction of the so-called domesticated animals, the familiar cow, the sow and the little red hen. He has been inclined to overlook two vitally important sources of cash income: First, the cash crop which may be cultivated through scientific trapping. Second, the cash crop which may be obtained, first, by trapping and, second, by domesticating animals that are still as wild as the cow and the sow were ages ago—a plan that is better known as fur farming.

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When the corn is in the crib and the landscape has turned drab and dreary from frost, the wise farmer today takes down his traps and sets out to gather the unearned increment of fur. He makes those of his acres not otherwise usable something of a haven for wild animals. He traps with an eye to the future, making certain that he does not too seriously deplete his wild stock.

What it comes down to is that the sensible farmer, while providing as a matter of course for his domestic stock, will also be mindful of the needs of his wild tenants. If he regards his barns as factories for producing milk, meat or wool, he will also consider the fox den in the hill and the muskrat colony down at the marsh as fur factories and preserve them accordingly. He will adopt the attitude that it is as logical to try to make farms produce more fur as it is to make them produce more beef.

This is a change from the attitude that has prevailed for generations. For too long the fur crop of the farm has been harvested without purpose or direction. It has been too much of a hit or miss affair. Only in recent years, and only here and there do we find farmers who are actually beginning to capitalize the wild life possibilities of their acreage. The economic depths plumbed in the farm industry in recent years has been an important factor in turning the farmer's mind to additional sources of income.

There are many stories told of farmers who were able to buy the absolute necessities of life last year only because of the income derived from the sale of fur pelts. Mrs. Archibold Jones, walking up Fifth Avenue sporting her Hudson Seal coat, has been the unwitting salvation of Farmer Jones who suddenly remembered that the swamp down by the creek harbored a number of muskrats.

I don't mean to intimate that only in recent years have farmers turned to wild animals as a source of income. As a matter of fact, the farmer has for years been an important source of supply for pelts. As wild animal life decreased, professional trappers and hunters found themselves less and less able to make a year-round living from their occupation. Consequently, the farmer, to whom fur pelts represented only a part-time and side-line affair, became more and more important as the shipper of pelts. It is in relation to the farmer then that fur as an industry is decidedly on the way in.

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The Depression years have changed the attitude of many farmers toward fur trapping. Thousands of farmers are now making at least as earnest an effort to derive an income out of their wild tenants as out of their domesticated tenants. That, I maintain, is of major significance in any study of the farm situation. In 1934, the farmers

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of the country will receive somewhere between $35,000,000 and $50,000,000 for fur pelts. That is a tidy sum, even in these days of billion dollar appropriations.

But that is not the most significant feature of the development. The trapping of wild animals is actually of secondary concern so far as the farmer's future is weighed. The great development of the future for the farmer is the growth of fur farming.

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The farmer is naturally adapted to fur farming. His knowledge of the usual run of farm livestock, such as pigs, cows, sheep, etc., is a decided help in raising wild animals. And the rapid elimination of wild animals, plus the steady growth in the popularity of furs makes it inevitable that this knowledge will be put to increasingly profitable use. The muskrat, incidentally, is the only animal not in danger of elimination. But even by farming muskrats it is possible to obtain a better breed, a steadier supply, to utilize waste land and waste time.

Practically every farm has waste land suitable for fur farming. These waste lands consist of ravines, marsh land, thickets, ponds, rocky hillsides, creeks, all good for wild animals. There is enough space on most farms to use for fur farming to double the income of thousands of farmers—and with little extra cost or labor. And then there is the angle that fur farming very often involves turning pelts into profits.

Fur farming really got its start on Prince Edward Island in 1890. It began there with the breeding in captivity of silver foxes. The success achieved here attracted so much attention that a boom developed which, on a smaller scale, was a counterpart of the stock market boom of 1929. Silver foxes for breeding purposes sold as high as $35,000 a pair!

Like all booms, the silver fox boom collapsed. Careful breeders, however, continued their work. The raising of other fur-bearing animals as well as foxes attracted the attention of hundreds all over the country. Today, the industry is firmly established. There are national and local associations of breeders. There are regularly issued publications which disseminate the latest information on breeding. The Department of Agriculture gives it considerable attention and has established experimental breeding farms in different parts of the country. State agriculture departments have done likewise. It is true that the Depression dealt this industry, as it dealt most industries, a severe blow. However, it has pulled through in fair shape and prices obtained at the last fur auctions indicate that larger profits are in store for the fur farmer.

The extent to which this industry has grown is realized by only a few. For example, in December, 1933, and January, 1934, some 40,000 mink skins were sold at the great auctions in this country. Some 15,000 of these were ranch or farm-bred skins! In other words, more than one-third of the mink pelts sold in two months were obtained from animals bred in captivity.

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I think that these figures, small as they are, are strikingly significant. They indicate how important the fur farmer has already become with regard to one type of pelt. Moreover, they indicate how vast this industry may become when more farmers go into it, and go into it in the right way.

It would be rank economic nonsense to assert that fur farming will ever become the principal activity of the farm. But that it is destined to become a vitally important contributing factor to the economic welfare of the farmer cannot be disputed. Fur farming, or fur ranching as it is sometimes called, is still a baby industry. However, it has existed long enough to furnish convincing proof, first, of its profit possibilities, and, second, of the necessity for making it a systematically-run business. While fur farming need be only a side line with most farmers, and while it should not take up more than a minor share of the farmer's time, it is, nevertheless, a fact that care, scientific knowledge, and a world of patience are absolutely essential. Muskrats, for example, practically take care of themselves. Where they are bred in true marsh territory, they practically "live off the land." But if they are not properly trapped, if proper selectivity is not exercised, if the little attention they need is not given to them, even the muskrat farming cannot be made a profitable venture.

It is encouraging, in this connection, to observe the attention the Federal and various State Governments are paying to fur farming. The experimental fur farms established by the Federal and State departments of agriculture have gathered immensely valuable material which is being disseminated among farmers. Finally, the fur farmer, himself, recognizing the need for organization and education, has banded together and these associations not only have their own scientists and lecturers but also meet occasionally to listen to experts sent out by various fur companies.

There is another encouraging factor inherent in fur farming that must make its future a pleasant one. I refer to the fact that on a fur farm pelting can be controlled at all times. Only these peltries that are well furred and in prime condition are taken. The young animals are left to mature. The quality of the breed can be continuously improved. This can mean only one thing—that the wearing of furs by women will become still more popular, because better furs mean more satisfaction.

And finally, there is always the possibility of new uses being developed for furs. The history of fur wearing, and I am now thinking back as far as the Middle Ages, has been one of steady growth in popularity. Fur is a fashion staple. While the demand for specific types of furs and the specific style uses of furs may vary from year to year, nevertheless, the consumption of fur has grown almost without interruption for centuries. There is no reason, therefore, to assume that this growth will not continue. But on top of that there is always the likelihood that some new use will be found for fur that will greatly accelerate the demand for it. With a steady supply of quality furs assured by fur farms, such a development is entirely within the realm of possibility.

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Fur farming is definitely on the way. The economic value of the farm mammals—rats, field-mice, rabbits, gophers, ground-squirrels, muskrats—plus the mink, the fox and other fur bearers is going to be fully developed. Thousands of farmers will find that the trapping and taming of their wild farm tenants offer a steady source of income which will help nicely to round out the farm picture. The Government will find that the millions of acres of marginal land that are being taken out of farm production can be utilized as excellent breeding preserves.

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Outlook Book Choice of the Month

Reviewed by Robert Cantwell

THE UNPOSSESSED, by Tess Slesinger. $2.50. 357 pages. New York: Simon and Schuster.

A FEW YEARS AGO a small group of American intellectuals—novelists, critics, college professors, journalists—began working consciously toward a coherent social program for their writing, began forming committees, drawing up manifestoes, arguing about proletarian art and taking sides for, and against, the revolution. The Depression, of course, lay back of all this activity; it was a time when, in New York at least, one scarcely dared ride a subway because someone could be counted on to jump under the wheels at Times Square; it was a time when a walk down Wall Street was hazardous because so many brokers were leaving their offices, when the day's work was done, by stepping out the window. The intellectuals had to take account in their daily lives, and consequently in their writing, of a kind of experience they had not dealt with before; and with great indecision, painfully, reluctantly, they groped for an adequate explanation of the crisis and an emotionally and intellectually adequate program for their own work. This process, the committee forming, the disputes, Tess Slesinger describes, satirizes, in "The Unpossessed"; and bringing a tireless wit to bear on it, an apparently unlimited skepticism, a child-like appreciation of all pretentiousness, she makes it a prolonged nightmare, writing what is, with reservations, a little masterpiece as her own contribution.

But first the real background for the story should be gone into. All the more so because Miss Slesinger generally leaves it out. The crisis struck the New York literary world almost as hard as it struck the steel industry. The number of novels printed dropped from about forty-five million in 1929 to about nineteen million in 1931; and as the prominent novelists began writing book reviews for a living, book reviewers began living with their wives and families.

Like all literary periods, it was a period of great confusion: the Humanists were calling for individual responsibility and trying to construct an esthetic and a morality on the rules of deportment; the Marxian critics were saying, in effect, "I see you, you Fascist, behind those whiskers," whenever a new novel appeared. By and large, the intellectuals fluctuated between accepting communism, talking of a new political party and playing ring tennis in their country homes. It was, I repeat, a time of great confusion. In 1932 a group of writers, organized to work for the election of the Communist candidate for President, quickly became a rallying point for the most devoted opponents of the Communist party. It was a time of resignations from committees, of quarrels between friends, of political disputes in the offices of literary magazines. When Edmund Wilson summed up the aspirations of a considerable group in an article called "Take Communism Away from the Communists" there was a general agreement with him; yes, the intellectuals said, take communism away from the Communists; the trouble was, they could not agree who should have it instead.

"The Unpossessed" deals brilliantly with one segment of this apparent chaos and expresses the bewilderment and waste almost perfectly. Here are six typical characters: Margaret and Miles, a young married couple, breaking their hearts because they haven't nerve enough to have a baby; Bruno Leonard, a neurotic, brilliant, Jewish professor; Elizabeth, his cousin, who carries her breaking heart from bed to bed; Jeffery, a novelist who enjoys considerable prestige as a lover; his patient, unbelievably unobservant wife. Around them revolves a crew of faintly recognizable figures: a wealthy woman, angel for a radical magazine; her ineffectual son; a stenographer who poses as a revolutionary leader. Nothing holds this group together; a magazine of some sort is planned, talked and lied about, but even before it is under way no one expects it to appear. It doesn't. Bruno has an opportunity to save his cousin, who loves him, and lets it pass; Margaret and Miles have an opportunity to have their baby, but they are in the end intimidated, despising themselves and their world. There is no development, unless you count the progress from one fiasco to another; rather the characters seem to spend their time rationalizing, in as brilliant terms as possible, their own ineffectuality and lack of courage, moving dexterously on the thin ice over their nervous breakdowns.

Two of the characters, Margaret and Miles, belong on the permanent records of these times. In her picture of their wayward domestic life, full of quarrels out of all proportion to their causes, of their relations with the tradespeople on the block, with the boss, with the friends who are never really known, Miss Slesinger has caught more of the isolated, miserable, frustrated New York intellectual life than anyone else has given us. And she does this in a few compact scenes, never stressing her points, never giving more than is necessary. Particularly in Margaret; as you follow this character in the rise and fall of her aspirations, see her at last at the mercy of her bitterness and beginning to revenge herself on her husband, some of the less obvious catastrophes of the present work their way unforgettably into your memory. With Bruno, who

(*Continued on page* 57)

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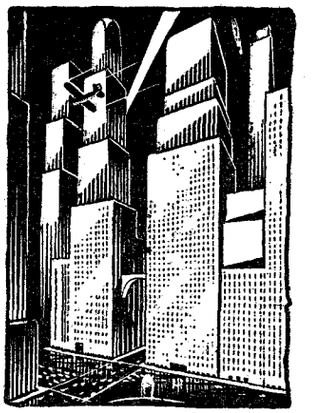
Talk of the Nation



Our Newsless News Reels

WHAT WILL and what will not keep a news reel audience awake is, of course, the more or less constant concern of the people who manufacture this form of entertainment. It seems that they have figures, charts, tables and what not as a guide to sure fire entertainment. It accounts, perhaps, for the frequency on the screen of baby pictures—infant prodigies, no smarter than they should be, who can reach for a bottle at the age of six months—the monkeys that are even smarter; polar bears (good both in summer and winter, always swimming) and battleships, in steaming line, using more fuel than they should—for the sake of a good picture.

In order to prevent too frequent repetition of these sure fire shots, the daring cameramen frequently undertake to record on their expensive film current events, and these, pictorially speaking, can be disappointing. That's where ingenuity and the cutter's scissors and the new art of "dubbing" come in.

Recently a news reel producing company sent a sound and picture recording outfit, at no small expense, to a dirt track auto racing meet at Elgin, Ill. Nothing much happened. The competing cars just went around and around, and that was all that was recorded on the reel, which was duly shipped into the New York office for editing.

At the same time there arrived from the London branch of the news reel company an all too brief shot of a racing car going over an embankment.

That's when the master minds went to work and the cutter's scissors were called into play. In extremely short order the news reel fans of the nation were being treated to a thrilling picturization of what purported to be a race run exclusively at Elgin, Ill. The climax is a shot of a car going up an embankment and over a cliff to exciting destruction. It isn't explained how a car which starts in a race in Illinois can end up a few minutes later by toppling over an English cliff—but the news reel audiences seem to like it.

However, life isn't all beer and skittles for the men who must turn cranks in the faces of the mighty. Most of these are willing subjects when everything's right with the world and are equally reluctant "for the sake of their public" before the news reel lens when things are going decidedly wrong.

One such was James Walker, late Mayor of New York City. In what is now known as the Duesenberg Era the then Mayor was the darling of the camera men. He took instructions easily, posed willingly, wisecracked appropriately, so that the news reel audiences always laughed—with him. On one such occasion a motion picture cameraman wanted Jimmy to smile and doff his hat. He smiled, but the hat didn't come off.

"Whazza matter, Jimmy," called the camera man, "are you losing your hair?"

Off came the hat and with it the peculiar throaty pitched voice of the Mayor, wisecracking, "I don't suppose you think I've got any?"

Time and things changed—particularly in New York. The great Walker was going into exile, and the cameramen discovered that their favorite subject had suddenly grown camera shy. Much disappointed they were that none could get an effective valedictorian "camera interview." Long shots of the departure only were available. But timely, one of the news reel editors remembered a by then forgotten sequence of James Walker. Out of storage it was dragged and again the scissors and the new trick of "dubbing" was called into play. The result was that the news reel fans were given as news of that week "long shots" of the Walker departure fading naturally into a close-up, at the beginning of which an off-stage, "dubbed in" voice inquired, "Mr. Walker, what do you think of your future?" And in apparent and decidedly appropriate answer, a talking picture of the resigned Mayor, wisecracking, "I don't suppose you think I've got any?"

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Add Lindberghiana

WE WERE TALKING RECENTLY with a man who has been privileged to make a close study of the as yet unpublished transcript of the famous "midnight" inquisition by Post Office and Justice department investigators of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. The event occurred on the evening of the day of Colonel Lindbergh's formal, public appearance before the Senate Committee investigating the air mail. Plenty of publicity was given to the public hearing, none to the night inquisition. An enterprising newspaper man dug up the story weeks afterward. The transcript has never been made public. It is long, detailed and for the most part rather uninteresting—except as an exhibit of how not to cross-examine. The examination obviously was conducted by one totally unfamiliar with the development of aviation.

It does contain, however, a priceless addendum to Lindberghiana, which if the transcript is never given to the press

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will be lost forever. Although the Colonel was unrepresented by counsel and his interlocutor was at considerable trouble at the outset to make it clear that there was nothing "formal" about the questioning, he begins his inquisition, the transcript shows, in the highly approved legalistic manner of "establishing the identity of the witness."

In order to shorten this procedure, Lindbergh finally "took over" the hearing and gave a brief, concise report of what he had been doing since his entry into commercial aviation. The recital ends thus: "In 1926 I went to work for the Robertson Aircraft Corporation of St. Louis, flying the mail between St. Louis and Chicago. In 1927 I made my first trip to Paris . . . ."

*

We have one other addition to make to Lindberghiana this month. A friend, a newspaper man—and that's another Lindbergh myth, the one about the Colonel having no friends among the newspaper fraternity (three of his closest advisers for several years on flying plans and public relations are newspaper men)—recently established himself as a rural resident of New Jersey. One of his acquisitions in connection with that act was a dog—a beagle of sorts. He named it Lindy. The Colonel when informed was much amused at this.

"What kind of a dog is it?" inquired Lindbergh.

"A hound," said the newspaper man.

"I know, but what kind of a hound?"

"A publicity hound," was the answer.

The laughter was general.

Which leads us to inquire, what was the name and whatever became of the Congressman who had a fleeting moment of publicity limelight by declaring that the now famous Lindbergh telegram on the air mail situation was "the stunt of a publicity hound?"

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Doctor's Care

IT WOULD SEEM, life and things being what they are, that doctors also get discouraged, and on occasion even contemplate self-destruction. Their professional field, perhaps more than any other, affords the most unique exits from life.

There is a surgeon in New York today on the way to the pinnacle of his calling. His climb has been practically unnoticed, his successes shrouded in even more than the customary medical obscurity. He was not a specially outstanding student in his class at medical school, we are told. He had, however, always fancied that he was not completely out of touch with scholastic brilliance as he had assumed in college days and afterward that he was a close friend of the honor man of his class, who upon graduation entered general medicine and enjoyed a meteoric climb to fame and distinction. In the medical profession, when friends part to go into different specialized fields of the practice, it is the custom to demonstrate continuing friendship by sending patients to each other. This is particularly true when one friend goes into general medicine, the other into surgery. The surgeon's the real benefactor here as the exchange the other way is practically non-existent.

For fifteen years the two medicos of our story practised together in New York City. Never once in that time did the originally not so bright surgeon receive a patient "on recommendation" from his buddy and classmate.

He was not far short then of being completely surprised a few weeks ago, after fifteen years of the profoundest kind of silence, to receive an urgent 'phone call from the famous general practitioner. He was asked to come to the physician's home immediately. Who was ill? The doctor himself.

Not a little puzzled, the surgeon hurried to the bedside of his confrere, made his diagnosis and recommended an immediate operation. The case was extremely serious, the chances of success of the operation equally small. It was a case requiring the skill of the most able surgeon obtainable.

"Very well," said the patient. "You're the man for the job. When do you want to operate?"

Controlling with difficulty his emotions over this one more surprise, the surgeon said he thought it advisable to operate the first thing the following morning and named the hospital.

There were more surprises in store for the surgeon. Arriving at the appointed surgical rendezvous he found a group of the most brilliant members of his profession exercising the prerogative of the calling to witness the operation of a fellow doctor. The group contained two close friends of the ailing medico.

Needless to say the surgeon performed as he had never performed before—which is high praise indeed. The operation was a success—even as laymen like to consider surgical operations successful.

Congratulations were showered upon the operating surgeon. The emotion of professional enthusiasm ran so high that at an uptown gathering of doctors shortly after the operation one of the friends of the patient could keep the secret no longer. Speaking to the surgeon, he said, "You know George (that will do for the sick one's name) had been discouraged for some time—stock market losses. He had made up his mind to die."

The surgeon excused himself then, hurried back downtown to the hospital and doubled the nurse attendance on his famous patient.

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Own Your Own

SAILORS are traditionally expected to settle down on farms when they retire, there presumably to grow chickens and cabbages far away from storms and mutinies and all the other little annoyances which go with fine salt spray. They seem to crave the firm feeling of land under their feet after all the years of ocean, even if they have been separated from it by fifty thousand tons of modern steamship. There is something about the land that appeals to their rugged natures, the simplicity, the cleanness of it—anyhow you know how the tradition goes.

A naval officer acquaintance of ours recently fell in step with the fine old belief. True enough, he had not yet retired, being due for some twelve or fourteen years of service, and further, was at the moment on shore duty. But he liked the idea of owning his own land when he did retire, and on top of that he was afraid inflation would take away a modest bankroll he possessed. The roll, incidentally, was inherited. You don't buy country estates out of current navy pay.

A week's leave was spent looking for a place. Friends took him to Connecticut, where scenery is beautiful and farms can be found under thick deposits of tax bills. There, they assured him, he could find all that was desirable to the mariner's, or for that matter, any other soul. They turned him over to a real estate agent.

The agent drove him all over the countryside, free. (This is only part

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of the service when you're farm hunting.) They went up miles of Berkshire hills and down miles of similar valleys. They saw dozens of houses. In the process, the naval officer learned a number of things. He learned to look for original doorlatches and hinges, just as so-and-so's great-grandfather made them back in 1790. Maybe they didn't hold the doors shut, but that was all right. He learned that Dutch ovens and fireplaces with the original cranes were fine things and never to be disturbed. (On his destroyer, he remembered, they had electric stoves of incredible efficiency.) He learned that wide board floors and ceilings you can't stand up under were prized in the extreme. He was told that oil lamps and candles were the only things you could light your house by, though the Navy had dispensed with kerosene forty years ago. He found out that an ancient apple tree, or quince, or maple, or elm, added five hundred dollars to the value of your house, and that you spent at least ten per cent of that amount annually on tree surgery for them.

And he found out, again from the friendly agent, what wonderful people the old Connecticuters were. All of them, it seemed, had lived in their houses since infancy, their ancestors since 1750—even though the name might have an oddly Polish, or Italian, or German cast. And it always seemed they were only selling because they had no more children and couldn't run the farm any more. They hated to leave the old place, but if the stranger insisted on buying, why they would simply have to go. And just because they loved the old place so much, they would do everything to leave it in perfect order for him. They, and also the agent, hoped he wouldn't alter it too much.

Well, our officer bought one. It was a lovely place, complete with the trimmings of antiquity. The old couple reluctantly took his money and spoke about going, they knew not where. The agent, adding a final lyric on the hand-cut solid oak beams, shook hands all around and drove the buyer back to the friends who had brought him out. These assured him he would never regret it.

But there were, it seemed, a few preliminary catches. Number one was the original owners. By immemorial custom it seemed you couldn't ask them to leave for a few days anyway, even if you wanted the house. In this part of the world, the few days were traditionally a month. It was unfortunate the buyer had just married, and thought of three weeks' honeymoon on his farm. Maybe he could rearrange his leave, or postpone the wedding. You see, it would be unwise to upset the late owners. They would be indignant (and rightly so), and more than that, the neighborhood would be indignant too. If you wanted to live there, it was better to stay on good terms with them. After all, they could help you a great deal if you handled them right—and they could do things you wouldn't like if you didn't. The veiled threat was enough; the honeymoon was rearranged.

Other catches cropped up. The hand-cut beams weren't exactly as sound as when great-uncle Isaiah put them up in 1790. The roof leaked a little in one or two strategic spots. A barn was falling down—but it couldn't be torn down completely, it had to be repaired. The apple orchard hadn't been pruned in fifty years, now was the season to do it. It seemed the original owners, for all their love, hadn't had the time to look after it. And here again was where the neighbors came in. Number Two tradition ran to the effect that you couldn't employ outside help. Carpenters, beam-putters, roofers, tree pruners, must be hired from the nearest possible point. Otherwise the neighbors would think you didn't trust them, and then they wouldn't trust you. That too was unpleasant, and if you wanted to live there . . .

So the new estate owner, grappling at a far-off Navy Yard with the national defense, told the agent to go ahead. He had only one request—to wait until he could come up and see what was going on. The request was reasonable, partly. Some of the things couldn't wait—the roof, the beams, and the barn, for example. The apple trees could, since he had said he didn't care much about fruit anyway. The owner, by this time somewhat uneasy, dropped the Navy, seized his bride and came up.

Every mature male in the district seemed to be at work on his house. Mature was the word, for mainly the aged and bent seemed to have been entrusted with the tasks of rehabilitation. The oldest inhabitant, who was said to be ninety-one, was crawling around the barn roof, holding an enormous hatchet in palsied fingers. His nephew, a stripling of seventy, was clawing at the floor beams. Two venerable old gentlemen were putting new shingles on the main house, partly where they were needed but mostly where they were not. The naval officer caught his breath at the sight of them perched all of thirty feet off the ground. His young wife gave a stifled scream and ran into the house.

He called up the agent. Yes, it was correct that he had hired them. The younger men were all busy with the ploughing, or making apple-jack, or had gone away, or something like that. Their elders were getting five dollars a day in their absence. That, it seemed, was the best part of it—most of them hadn't seen any cash since the good times during the Civil War. It would most certainly promote good feeling all around. He would get the work done and the neighbors would be grateful; they would love and admire him for it. Maybe the work wouldn't last long—some of them were pretty old—but it was the best of all possible ways to start out.

The *maybe* was right. A new tar-paper roof on the barn came off in the next week's big wind. The floors continued to sink several inches whenever you forgot to walk on tiptoe across them. A medium sized hailstorm tossed most of the new shingles back to the woods where they came from. The original hardware continued to keep the doors unlatched and unclosed, though it had been cleverly pieced out with haywire and gifts from the artisans' own stock. In the meantime, did the owner want to buy any lovely old Early American furniture? There was plenty for sale, it appeared, and at prices no higher than those obtaining on Madison or Park Avenues, back in New York. He wouldn't be comfortable with any other kind, in his fine old house. And of course they would supply him with everything he and his wife could eat or drink, except possibly tropical fruits. Prices were lower at the A. & P. in the village but here he could have the fun of getting the stuff in his own pails and crates and paper bags.

The neighborly bill came in after a while, some of it in time to catch the repairs still in place. The total came to one hundred and seventy-five dollars. Prompt payment was another good old local custom that kept every-

(*Continued on page* 58)

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Books

(*Continued from page* 53)

is the central figure insofar as the book possesses one, Miss Slesinger is less successful, but since she tried to do more with Bruno, to create a character of the stature of some of Dostoyevsky, her relative failure is an honorable one.

•

She succeeds in making you see Bruno's wit, his indecision; she never makes you see the waste of his talent or convinces you that his ineffectuality is tragic. As with Elizabeth, who sometimes comes dangerously close to being the stock figure of the broken-hearted flaming youth, Miss Slesinger seems to have started out too fast with Bruno, to have tried to reach the depth of his character in his first scene, so that he has no reserve left for the climax. Reading about Bruno, towards the end of this novel, is somewhat like watching a sprinter trying to run a mile race: winded and gasping, Bruno goes on, keeping up the part the plot makes him play, though every breath nearly kills him. Miss Slesinger is careless with her minor figures, showing them in a single light, as a rule, concentrating on this one's stutter, another's stock phrases, identifying them rather than giving the reader an understanding.

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Nevertheless, "The Unpossessed" is one of the very best of recent American novels; it fluctuates between being good and being brilliant. The language in which these pople are dissected is sharp, sometimes very witty, always full of unexpected little twists, a mocking reference to some conventional literary pose. More than anything else the background, the other contacts of the leading figures, is neglected; and as a result the dominant characters seem to float too easily through events, without bumping into more solid obstacles than their moods. The real confusion through which the intellectuals moved in the period covered by the book was no less amusing than that which Miss Slesinger presents, but it had more meaning than is given to it here, it was a result of greater forces than are shown at work.

(*Continued on page* 64)

IMPORTANT BOOKS OF THE DAY

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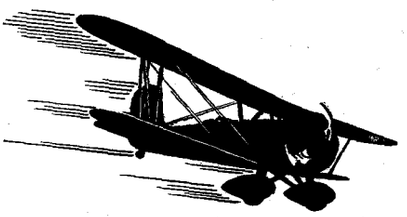

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Talk of the Nation

(*Continued from page* 56)

body happy. (The officer thought of how many times he had bawled out high executives for a defective piece of steel back at the Yard.) Afterwards he could have the work done over again. If he wanted to put pressure on the original craftsmen, they would replace anything that might happen to have worked loose, though they were apt to think you might be criticising them if you insisted.

Eventually he was ordered out to the China station for a two-year turn of sea duty. But he had bought a house for himself and preserved a fine tradition. When he was ready to retire he would have a place to go. And he had done it graciously, according to all the Early American form. The folks around appreciated it. While he was gone they would certainly look after the place for him—just as much, they assured him, as if he were there himself.

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Mad Dogs

DOWN AT JOHNS HOPKINS in Baltimore they speak these days about mad dogs. Some of them are almost insane, others suffering from a variety of complexes and repressions, and a lucky minority is on the way to being cured. It is all done in the name of science. The young researchers in charge hope, first by inducing neurasthenia and then removing it, to find out why people get the same way and how to cure them.

Ever since Pavlov, the Russian scientist, first established the *conditioned* reflex, dogs have made about the best experimental material. The great Russian pioneered in the technique, using a simple and ingenious method of inducing the reactions he wanted. Dogs (like humans) water at the mouth at the sight or smell of food. The resulting saliva can be collected and measured, and hence the dog's reflex action observed. Pavlov's trick was in introducing other stimuli in addition to food. Thus, a bell was rung at the same time the dog got his lamb-chop. The dog heard the bell, saw the chop, and his mouth watered. This went on for some time, then they started ringing the bell without furnishing the entree. The silly dog's mouth still watered; he had become *conditioned* to the idea of bells and food coming together. And no matter how many times he was fooled, the reflex was there—not a matter of thought but an automatic process. it is explained.

Pavlov's work was of the greatest importance to psychology. It showed that organisms could be made to act in a predictable way, by arranging the stimuli. Later psychologists built whole systems on the discovery. John B. Watson, first patentee on Behaviorism, believed you could make anything you wished out of humans by conditioning their reflexes. Watson used babies and got results with the same bell and tidbit trick. He could take an infant, say, that liked apples and by making a loud noise in the unfortunate child's ear, induce him to hate apples with a deep and abiding hatred. From this he reasoned that any child could be conditioned along any lines desired—to be a great musician, an excellent bookkeeper, or anything you might want.

Well, they're not doing anything so grandiose down in Baltimore. What they are doing is taking healthy right minded dogs and by a few variations on the original process making nervous wrecks out of them. The patients start out on the simple bell and food formula, a saliva catching device fastened to their cheeks. For a while they are kept to this, just to get the hang of it. Then the variations are introduced. A bell of different tone is rung, with no food forthcoming. The dog hangs his head and no saliva comes out into the tube. He knows there's no sense in getting excited. But after a while the tones of the two bells are brought closer together. The dog is confused. He doesn't know whether to expect food or not. Finally the two bells are so closely pitched that the poor beast can't detect any difference; they both sound like the food bell but neither of them produces food. Then the dog gets neurasthenic—the strain is too much. He groans, whines, puts his tail between his legs and tries desperately to get out of the cage. He has become a neurotic dog, incapable of facing reality.

Since they know how to make the dog into a mental case, the young scientists feel sure they can undo the evil work by reversing the process. Rest, change of environment and triple bromides help too. The cure is, of course, more difficult to carry out than it is to induce the disease, but several of the patients are now on the way to

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recovery. In one or two cases they have attempted to reinduce the trouble after it has been removed, and here they find greater difficulty. Once an implanted reflex has been wiped out, it apparently is very hard to re-establish.

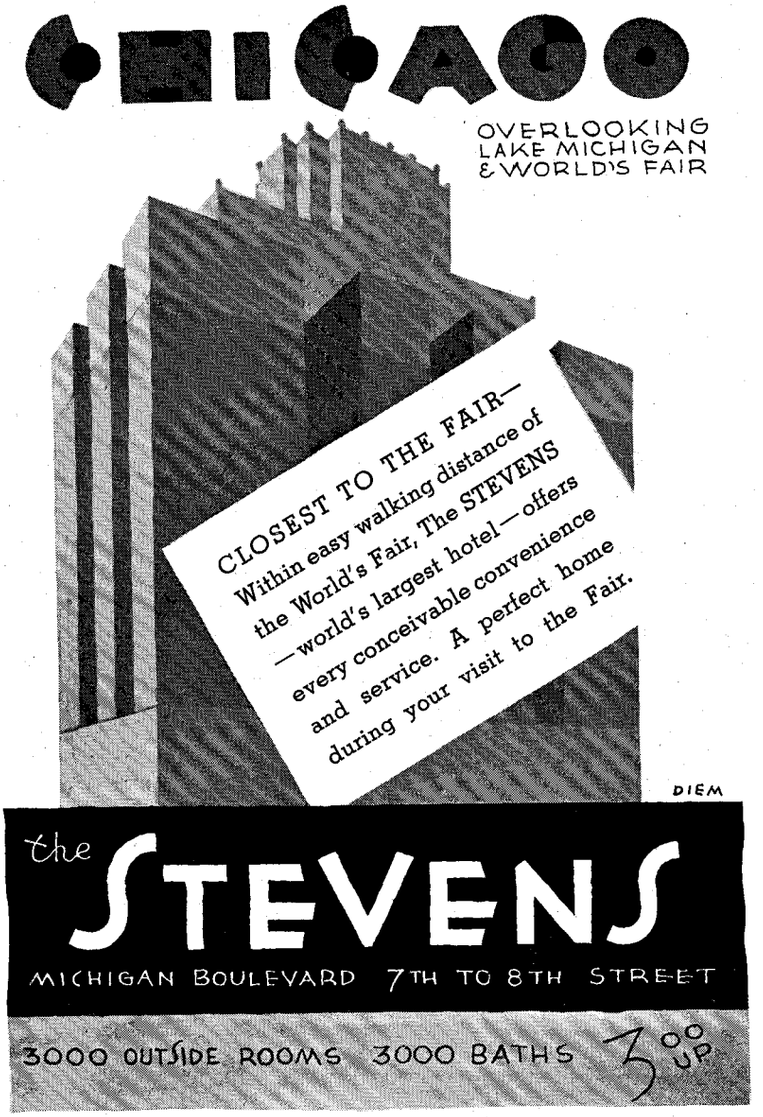
Down in Baltimore they're sure that all this has wonderful implications for the human race. Find out, they say, what has produced certain conditioned behavior patterns in a human and you can alter them at will. If a man is a criminal, unadjusted to society, all you have to do is discover the trick in his environmental training and you can make him a useful member of the community. The same applies to all social problems, whether criminal or not. Adolescents having difficulty in fitting into the world can be eased over the rough spots. Unhappy men and women can be made smiling and balanced creatures, at one with the world and the cosmos. All you have to do is to change the conditioning, and the chances are enormously against the patient going back to the bad old ways. It sounds good—as long as we don't have to put them all in cages.

●

Our Unfeathered Friends

THE NUDIST SEASON is at hand. The sun is high, the air is soft, days are long, trees are in full leaf and the nudists are taking off their clothes. Week-ends and warm summer days we can think of them romping innocently sans apparel, swimming, playing volley-ball, or just lying around in the sun. They are doing it all over the country, in camps, secluded woodlots, on beaches—anywhere they can find the necessary privacy—and the law allows. And while they do, they think with a certain pity of the rest of us who take ours fully clothed. They look on us as backward and unliberated, still tied down by the *mores* of our grandmothers. Perhaps we are.

At any rate, there are 300,000 nudists today in the United States who think so. Organized in more than seventy known camps, they already have a central organization, with charter, rules and dues, a national monthly magazine and a head office in New York City. The central organization is the International Nudist Conference, known to initiates as the I.N.C. The magazine is *"Nudist,"* published by the I.N.C. and circulating to the extent of 80,000 paid up subscriptions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per month; its goal, "Every Nudist a Subscriber."

The nudist movement, like many other things, came from Germany. No one quite knows who founded it, or the exact date (these things are always apt to be obscure) but its first strength came at the end of the late World War. Under the more or less liberal pre-Nazi regime, it gained considerable momentum, and by the time of its appearance here had two or more million adherents in Europe. The European number has since fallen, especially in Germany, where Hitler thoroughly disapproves—doubtless because Nudists don't wear uniforms.

The first recorded American appearance was in the summer of 1929, with the founding of the American League for Physical Culture. The stock market crash seemed to help things along, and by 1930 the new back to nature cycle was in full swing. The I.N.C. was founded a year later, and began to publish *"Nudist"* in 1932, its first issue only a few thousand copies. Here, apparently, is a depression proof occupation, for the movement grows at the rate of about 75,000 new members each year. By 1936 leading Nudists expect to have their first million. Then, they say, the battle will be won. After that nothing will stop them.

They have had some battles already, chiefly over the magazine. Naturally it is an illustrated paper, the illustrations, photographs. Wisely enough, the I.N.C. submitted the first issues to the chief censorship societies for their preliminary word. Mr. John S. Sumner, No. 1 guardian of the American home, had no objection at the time. Later he did make a curious reservation against showing pictures of nudists looking at each other in any very vital manner, but so far has not prosecuted. The Post Office Department was less liberal. Personally the official questioned was sympathetic, but the law tied his hands. A decision of the '70's, it seemed, had said that "any nude human or pictures thereof is by itself obscene," and there was no getting around that. Second class mailing privileges would have to be denied. The decision has been hotly discussed since, with nudists naturally on the indignant side. Why, they point out, it is all right for *"Snappy Stories," "Breezy Tales," "Paris Art Models"* and the like to circulate with admittedly naughty covers and pictures, when clean and entirely unprovocative

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"Nudist" is under ban? The Post Office in its wisdom has not yet replied, though the nudists are pressing the campaign. Every issue runs a contrast between the more realistic works of art or the more stimulating pictures of chorus cuties and the plain and often unappetizing truth of *"Nudist"* photographs. Readers are asked to write What Do You Think? letters, and they come thick and fast. All of them are against the cuties, many of them against the art.

Nudism has had some trouble with local courts, but not so much as might be expected. The leaders urge all possible caution in finding a secluded camp-site and trying to conciliate district opinion, but when a case does come up, they are bold enough in defense. The *cause celèbre* of the moment is the Fred Ring trial in Michigan. It is the Scottsboro Case of Nudism. Fred Ring, prominent in the Council of Nudists Leaders of the I.N.C., was arrested last year for conducting a camp on the dunes of Lake Michigan. The jury consisted of local farmers. The prosecuting attorney conducted the case by appealing to all the most conservative prejudices he could think of, and included the familiar orations on the flag, womanhood, and the honor of whatever county the case was in. The judge charged directly against the defendant, and neglected to mention that he could be acquitted if the jury wished. The I.N.C. immediately appealed the verdict, which was "Guilty," and it is now pending in the State Supreme Court. *"Nudist"* calls for funds and moral support in every issue, and is confident that Justice and Truth will eventually prevail.

Other states visited with nudism have been more hospitable. Governor Pollard of Virginia could see no objection when the I.N.C. sounded him on his views, provided the nudists kept to themselves and didn't upset their inhibited neighbors. The Free State of Maryland lived up to its name in an opinion by the Attorney-General which hold that nudism is all right with him as long as the nudists keep to themselves and don't annoy the neighbors. This advice has been strictly followed, in fact is one of the major parts of nudist policy. Their meetings are always conducted in the utmost privacy. Camps are isolated, or surrounded by high fences. Strangers are not allowed—in fact, it would be quite hopeless to walk up to a nudist colony and ask to be let in, no matter how sincere your interest. All applicants are put to rigid tests before admission to the I.N.C. A long and searching questionnaire must be answered, with complete details on personal history, mental attitude, health, religion, moral standing, and the like. The prospective nudist's attitude on liquor and tobacco is carefully sounded out—at present, considerable nudist discussion is going on as to whether or not all stimulants should be prohibited at meetings. Character references are required from at least three responsible people, and the applicant with the least hint of moral turpitude attached to his name has no chance whatever of qualifying.

In the membership the balance of men and women is kept fairly even. All activities are carried out in group formation, and pairing off is definitely discouraged. Hard physical exercise takes up most of the nudist's day, with time out for cold showers. There is no privacy in a nudist camp. Everybody knows at any given moment just what everyone else is doing. Nudist leaders are proud of this corporate publicity. They feel it helps more than anything else to keep the good name of nudism above suspicion.

But propaganda is not confined to good works alone. In addition to the magazine, books are published about the movement. The earliest American work on the subject was published in 1930, called *"Nudism in Modern Life."* It was written by one Maurice Parmelee. Mr. Parmelee wrote his book a year or two before, but like many pioneers, had to go abroad for a sympathetic audience. American publishers refused it, and the work was brought out in England. Since that time, there have been six major treatises. Mason and Frances Merrill's *"Among The Nudists"* really broke the ice, in 1931. In 1933 Professor Warren, late head of the Princeton department of psychology, produced a scientific study of the movement and gave it the academic blessing. Early this year Julian Strange's *"Adventures in Nakedness"* became for a while a best seller.

Nudists are happy also to report that the attitude of the press is improving. The change has taken place in the last year. First newspaper comment was unfavorable—most painful to the believer, it was also ribald. Any dull day in the city room was good for a

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snappy column or so on what the strippers were doing. Crude jokes were made and the reporters liked nothing better than going to a nudist camp and teasing the members for a story, which was usually written up in disrespectful ways. But in 1933 the tone began to change. A series of syndicated articles distinctly fair, if not admiring, was printed in some of the nation's leading newspapers. Two leading weeklies ran articles, one of them making something of a mild sensation with the picture of a nudist wedding in California. A nudist movie called "Elysia" was made in the same state and allowed past most of the movie censors. Clergymen also reported favorably on the movement, finding it pure, wholesome, and entirely unobjectionable. Several of them went so far as to preach from their own pulpits that nudism was all right with religion.

The statistical make-up of nudist groups is fairly typical. An average age is hard to find, but the general run seems to be around the middle years. The very old for obvious reasons do not embrace nudism easily. Children when they join come in with their parents, though nudist leaders are trying hard to get youth groups going. Sex distribution in the movement as a whole averages around sixty per cent men to forty per cent women. The nucleus of a group is usually some local health fan with stern ideas about physical exercise and clean living that he enforces on the members. Nudism has recruited heavily from health addicts in general. After years of graham crackers, deep breathing and trick diets, nothing remains but nudism; it is the farthest step they can take. *"Nudist"* is full of cases miraculously snatched from death after doctors had given up. One elderly reader reports recovery from Bright's Disease and Angina Pectoris after six months of nudism. But mental health gets the biggest play. Conservative nudists do not claim that their movement will make everyone perfectly happy for life. They do claim it will smooth out most neurasthenic problems. Most of our troubles, they say, come anyway from inhibitions about clothes. Remove clothing and you remove the inhibitions. Figures on the number of nudists requiring psychiatric treatment are not available.

Evidently the movement is here to stay. Nudists are entirely calm about

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it; they have passed the defensive stage. And they are enormously proud of their work. One of them, a leading Chicago lawyer, describes nudism as "the most important social advance in more than five thousand years." The general public has reserved decision; judging from recorded comment, it neither agrees nor disagrees. Only one organization has risen to denounce the new menace, and that, curiously enough, not sponsored by the clothing trade. It is the Society for the Preservation of American Ideals, and merely attacks nudism as a sideline in the struggle against radicals, aliens and subversive elements generally. Perhaps in time pro-and-anti nudists will be battling all over the place. Already Tin Pan Alley has tried to rouse the public with a song called "Cutest Little Nudist"—but it turns out to be just another number on Baby.

Economic Reports

(*Continued from page* 43)

bankers, resuming remittances (though extremely small in amount) in exchange for postponement of the maturity dates. Argentina has effected an ingenious and advantageous operation in the London market, redeeming prior to maturity two of its old sterling loans, and it is rumored that plans are afoot for a comprehensive offer to all holders of Argentina's dollar and sterling bondholders that will involve a voluntary conversion on terms attractive to investors and also advantageous to Argentina. Uruguay also is looking up again, thanks to the improvement in wool prices.

On the other hand, Cuba still totters on the brink of grave disorder, and Colombia pursues its diplomatic dispute with Peru, spending ill-spared funds for munitions and ignoring the interets of those who invested in Colombian bonds.

Books

(*Continued from page* 57)

A CRITIC'S NOVEL

Readers of NEW OUTLOOK will be interested in the appearance of the novel, "Land of Plenty," by Robert Cantwell, the book reviewer of NEW OUTLOOK. It is being widely praised by critics. This second novel by Mr. Cantwell is proletarian in viewpoint and tells dramatically of the rise and climax of a strike in a lumber mill of the Pacific Northwest.

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